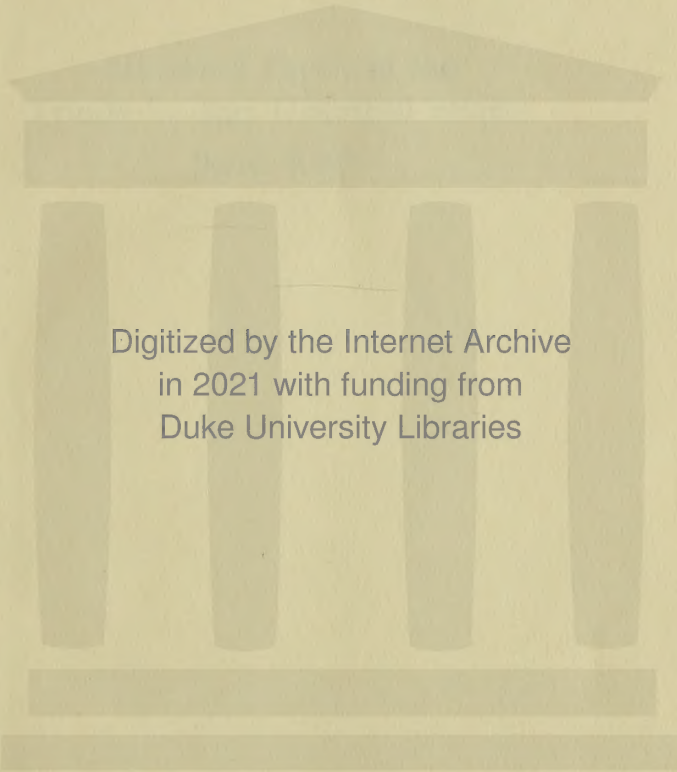


DUKE
UNIVERSITY



LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
Duke University Libraries

Historical Papers of the
Trinity College Historical Society
Series XXV

THE FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT

A Quaker Protest Against Slavery

BY

RUTH KETRING NUERMBERGER, Ph.D.



DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1942

COPYRIGHT, 1942, BY DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE SEEMAN PRINTER, INC., DURHAM, N. C.

To
ANNA COX BRINTON

Decori decus addit avito

PREFACE

This history of the free produce movement is the result of investigations carried on over a period of several years. The free produce movement was essentially an organized effort to boycott goods produced by slave labor. As a means to advance the abolition of slavery it had only limited success.

The subject was first encountered by the writer when she was preparing, as an M.A. thesis, a biography of Charles Osborn, who was one of the leaders in the free produce movement. The curiosity aroused by that first contact with this obscure reform effort has led to the present result.

The movement was sponsored chiefly by the Society of Friends, most of them plain, unpretentious people, whose work made no mark in national annals. Many of them left no records which have been preserved, while the great body of abolition literature generally contains no information on the free produce movement. Although supported chiefly by Quakers, the free produce cause was never officially sponsored, and scarcely sanctioned, by the Society of Friends as a religious organization. While many prominent abolitionists endorsed the boycott idea, they did not advocate it publicly as a means of combating slavery.

Sources for the study of this almost unknown phase of the abolition movement are few and scattered. Bibliographies and indices yield almost no information. Hence the discovery of much of the material herein cited has been lucky accident. For years the writer despaired of achieving a connected story, but time, chance, luck, and assistance from several Quaker historians have resulted in a narrative by no means complete, but at least possessed of continuity.

The existence of the free produce movement seems not to be known to historians generally, and indeed scarcely to those who give their attention to the anti-slavery movement. Only the historians of Quakerism appear to have some knowledge of it. Consequently, where the free produce movement touched the lives of national figures—John Greenleaf Whittier or Gerrit Smith or Harriet Beecher Stowe, for instance—their biographers have ignored the fact, presumably because they did not understand it and no concise explanation was available.

In gathering the material for this study the author has visited some twenty libraries. These include the Bixby Memorial Library of Vergennes, Vermont, the Boston Public Library, the Huntington Library, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the Library of Congress; the libraries of Brown, Duke, Harvard, Ohio State, and Syracuse universities; of Earlham, Guilford, Haverford, Oberlin, and Swarthmore colleges; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Indiana State Library, the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and the Western Reserve Historical Society. To the staffs of all these institutions the author owes thanks, and especially to Anna B. Hewitt of Haverford and E. Virginia Walker of the Friends' Historical Library at Swarthmore College.

Special acknowledgments go to Francis R. Taylor of Philadelphia, for making available his large manuscript collection covering the movement; to Thomas E. Drake of Haverford, for his criticism and advice; and to Harlow Lindley of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, for his criticisms and for the use of materials in his possession. These three have read the manuscript, and for their comments and criticisms the author is again grateful. Henry J. Cadbury of Harvard and Elbert Russell and G. A. Nueremberger of Duke have made useful suggestions. For their reading of the manuscript and their criticisms, the writer thanks also Professors Charles S. Sydnor, Bayrd Still, and W. T. Laprade of Duke University.

R. K. N.

Durham, North Carolina
October 15, 1942

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE ARGUMENT	3
II. A BEGINNING AT ORGANIZATION	13
III. FREE PRODUCE BECOMES A QUAKER MOVEMENT	30
IV. THE SEARCH FOR FREE LABOR PRODUCTS	60
V. GEORGE W. TAYLOR AND HIS WORK	83
VI. PROPAGANDA AND THE PRESS	100
APPENDIX	117
BIBLIOGRAPHY	120
INDEX	133

THE FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I

THE ARGUMENT

The slavery question was a disruptive force, not only between North and South, but also in many other units of society. It was responsible for a bitter sectionalism in those states of the Old Northwest touching the Ohio River. It made of the Methodist Episcopal Church two hostile camps which required almost a century to reconcile. The cleavage was only less marked among the Presbyterians and Baptists. The Quakers, on the other hand, had a long-standing record of opposition to slavery and were generally regarded as presenting a united front in the vanguard of the anti-slavery movement. This was not the case. The slavery question agitated, rent, and confused the Society of Friends, even as it did other denominations.

All Quakers condemned slavery; unfortunately they could not agree on the means and manner of opposing it. Then, much more than now, Quakers were a "peculiar people" who "mixed not in the world." Yet within their organization all shades of opinion existed, from the ultraconservative to the most radical. The great body of conservatives showed little interest in reforms and felt that Quakers had done their full duty by abolishing slavery among themselves. For them it was enough to repeat year after year their formal denunciation of slavery and to trust that the Lord in His own good time would destroy the evil. Beyond these conservatives stood a large body of liberals, flanked by a sizable number of radicals and a few fanatics.

Social reform was a primary interest with the radicals. They believed that it could be carried on side by side with their religious activity. The extreme radicals began by espousing abolition and proceeded from that to such other reforms as women's rights, temperance, peace, and the many fantastic schemes which were afloat in the nineteenth century. Those who were rather less radical riveted their attention on the abolition of slavery and did not sponsor other reforms until that was accomplished.

In the early nineteenth century many Friends belonged to the manumission societies and other mild organizations for the gradual

abolition of slavery. When the abolition crusade aroused controversy, created emotional excitement, and took a political turn, the Society of Friends was forced to define its position. During the 1830's many liberal Friends joined abolition societies, while the conservatives held aloof. The latter, who generally controlled the Society, condemned Quaker membership in abolition societies as detrimental to religious unity. About 1840 they began to close their meetinghouses to abolition lecturers.

Liberal and radical Friends strongly objected to giving up their abolition activities, but in order to avoid trouble most of them withdrew from such "mixed" societies and formed their own anti-slavery societies with membership limited to Quakers. In many instances this concession was sufficient. In other sections the conservatives were still not satisfied. The result was that many individuals were disowned and there was a separation in the Society itself in Indiana. In seeking a satisfactory form of activity the liberals and radicals usually formed free produce societies, in which they agreed to boycott all products raised by slave labor, so far as that was possible.

Quakers' opposition to slavery had begun with condemnation of the slave trade. From this they advanced to a denunciation of slavery itself. Before the last Quaker had manumitted his last slave the most advanced members of the Society, among whom was John Woolman, propounded the argument that the use of goods produced by slave labor was as bad as slaveholding itself, for it gave to an owner the inducement to hold his slaves in bondage and provided economic support of the system. The receiver of stolen goods is as bad as the thief, they repeated again and again. Woolman joined the use of slave labor goods with the Quaker testimony against war by arguing that the seizure of slaves on the African coast was really an act of war. This made slaves prize goods, against the acceptance of which Quakers had testified for years.

It would be difficult to prove what person first felt it his duty to abstain from the use of slave labor products. That person may have been Ralph Sandiford (1693-1733), a native of Liverpool, who later migrated to Pennsylvania. His observation of slavery in the West Indies led him to the conclusion that it was wrong, an opinion which he continued to express during the remainder of his life. His views were further expounded in a tract entitled *The Mystery of Iniquity, in a Brief Examination of the Practice of the*

Times, published in 1729. Though threatened with legal action, Sandiford continued to defend his views of slavery. No specific evidence indicates that Sandiford abstained from the products of slave labor as such, although in his last years he lived very simply, being "conscientiously opposed to those habits of luxury which . . . had begun to be indulged in Pennsylvania."¹

The first abstainer on record, however, was Benjamin Lay. Born at Colchester, England, in 1677, Lay went to Barbados in 1718 and there saw slavery at first hand. When he arrived at Philadelphia in 1731, he was already outspoken in his views on the subject. As he advanced in years, his eccentricity became notorious. He consistently refused to eat any food produced by slave labor, nor, in the houses of his friends, would he accept anything served by slaves. His clothing was made of tow which he spun himself, while his other peculiarities included vegetarianism, residence in a cavelike dwelling, and prolonged fasts.²

If Lay was perhaps the earliest abstainer from slave products, certainly John Woolman was the first to impress the idea upon his fellow Quakers. His journal for November 25, 1769, recorded his first statement on the subject. By trade a tailor, Woolman also pursued other activities, among which was frequently the making out of slave bills of sale. For many years he performed this service without giving much thought to the matter, but "After long and mournful exercise" he wished to explain "how things have opened in my mind":

. . . the oppression of the Slaves which I have seen . . . hath from time to time livingly revived on my mind, and under this exercise I

¹ Roberts Vaux, *Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford, Two of the Earliest Public Advocates for the Emancipation of the Enslaved Africans* (Philadelphia, 1815), pp. 59-73.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 13-30. While a merchant in Barbados, Lay freely expressed his opposition to slavery by befriending the slaves so that they assembled at his house on Sundays when he gave them food and religious instruction. His most startling action occurred during a yearly meeting session at Burlington, N. J., when he appeared in military cloak and sword, arose, and after making a few piercing denunciations of slaveholders, he slashed a concealed bladder containing pokeberry juice, to climax his remarks. Because of a spinal deformity Lay was only four feet and seven inches tall, which added to the peculiarity of his appearance. In spite of his eccentric behavior, Lay had many friends, among whom were Anthony Benezet and Benjamin Franklin. The latter published Lay's tract, *All Slave Keepers, That Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates* . . . (1737). Lay died on Feb. 3, 1759, at the age of eighty-two (William Teignmouth Shore, *John Woolman; His Life and Our Times: Being a Study in Applied Christianity*, London, 1913, p. 61).

for some years past declined to gratify my palate with those sugars. . . . I do not censure my Brethren in these things, but believe . . . the trading in or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet more require the Serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ. . . . The number of those who decline the customary use of The West India produce . . . even amongst people truly pious . . . have not been very extensive.³

A third among the early abstainers was Warner Mifflin (1745-1798), the Delaware Friend, who about 1778 had his conscience roused on the subject by the running ashore of a prize vessel. During the remainder of the Revolutionary War he used no more imported goods, and in 1796 he expressed his convictions on the subject: "And being brought into deep feeling for the oppressions of the poor Africans in the West Indies, I have not been easy with indulging myself in using the produce of their labor since. . . ."⁴

The first woman known to express her views on the subject was Alice (Jackson) Lewis, the wife of Enoch Lewis, of Chester County, Pennsylvania. While she was attending Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia in the spring of 1806, she "laid this subject before that body, in a forcible and impressive address." This act was the culmination of her increasing scruples against the use of slave labor products. For some years previous to this she had "discriminated in her purchases for the family between the produce of free or slave labor; and as far as possible herself abstained from using any article of slave production."⁵ At about the same time a London Friend, John Horn, felt such a strong conviction on the subject that, to

³ John Woolman, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, edited from the Original Manuscripts with a Biographical Introduction, by Amelia Mott Gummere (Philadelphia and London, 1922), p. 283.

⁴ Warner Mifflin, *A Defense Against Aspersions, Cast Against Him on Account of His Endeavors to Promote Righteousness, Mercy and Peace among Mankind* (Philadelphia, 1796), pp. 19 f.; also printed in Hilda Justice (comp.), *Life and Ancestry of Warner Mifflin: Friend—Philanthropist—Patriot* (Philadelphia, 1905), p. 91.

⁵ Joseph L. Lewis, *A Memoir of Enoch Lewis* (West Chester, Pa., 1882), p. 34. An examination of the MS Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Women Friends for the years 1804-10 shows no record of any such address by Alice Lewis. She was in 1806 a representative (i.e., delegate) from Concord Quarterly Meeting. This negative evidence from the Minutes cannot be taken as conclusive, since the minutes followed a set form and expression which varied little from year to year.

"ease" his mind, he urged all Quakers who might "feel their minds secretly burdened" by the use of West Indian sugar "not to stifle the smallest convictions of duty."⁶

Probably the strongest presentation of the subject in these early years came from the pen of Elias Hicks, who in 1811 first published his *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Produce of Their Labor*. This essay, in the form of nineteen queries and answers, covered most of the arguments ever advanced by advocates of the cause. Beginning with the assertion that slaves were prizes of war, he then deduced that the products of their labor were also prize goods. He proceeded to the question, "By what class of the people is the slavery of the Africans and their descendants supported and encouraged?" To this he replied, "Principally by the purchasers and consumers of the produce of the slaves' labour. . . ." This led him to ask what effect abstinence would have upon slaves and slaveholders. He argued that it would "meliorate . . . and abate" the "cruel bondage" of the former, and circumscribe the avarice of the latter. He concluded on a strong note of personal application by saying:

If we as individuals concerned in purchasing and consuming the produce of slavery, should imagine that our share in the transaction is so minute, that it cannot perceptibly increase the injury; let us recollect, that, though numbers partaking of a crime may diminish the shame, they cannot diminish its turpitude.⁷

⁶ John Horn, *Some Considerations on the African Slave Trade, and the Use of West India Produce*, London, January 17, 1805 (G. Cooke, printer), a broadside. John Horn, the son of Joseph and Mary Horn, both Quakers, was born at Tring, Hertfordshire, England, in May, 1738. After learning the weaving trade he married, but within nine years his wife and three of his four children died. About 1781 he became a minister and thereafter performed many religious journeys until 1803, when his health became too feeble for such activity. Late in 1804 he wrote his *Considerations on the African Slave Trade*. . . . He died on March 13, 1805 (Lucy Edmunds, *A Short Sketch of the Life of Our Dear Friend John Horn; with Some of His Expressions towards His Close*. . . . Also, *Considerations on the African Slave Trade and the Use of West India Produce. First Published by Him in His Last Illness*, London, 1806, pp. 3-35).

⁷ Elias Hicks, *Letters of Elias Hicks: Including also Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Produce of Their Labor* (Philadelphia, 1861), pp. 8-20. This tract, first published in 1811, went through many later editions. Elias Hicks (1779-1830), a native of Long Island, N. Y., was a prominent minister in the Society of Friends. He is best known because of the doctrinal controversy which resulted in a separation throughout much of the Society (1827). Hicks's free produce

One of the most prominent Friends to practice abstinence was William Allen (1770-1843). At the age of eighteen he expressed his opposition to slavery. Some years later he concluded that

. . . one step farther may be taken by me, which is wanting to complete my testimony [against slavery] . . . and which, if universally adopted would eventually put a stop to this enormous evil, and that is, disusing those commodities produced by the labour of slaves. And as sugar is, undoubtedly, one of the chief, I resolve, through divine assistance to persevere in the disuse of it until the slave trade shall be abolished.

To this resolution Allen adhered, even when the Russian emperor offered him tea with sugar produced by slave labor.⁸

Outside the Society of Friends one of the first persons to denounce the use of slave labor products was Thomas Branagan. Born in Dublin on December 28, 1774, of a prosperous family, he was brought up in (but later deserted) the Catholic faith and had the opportunity of ample educational advantages. He disliked school, however, and at the age of thirteen went to sea. During the succeeding years he saw much both of the slave trade and of privateering. About 1795 Branagan settled in Antigua, where he became an overseer on a sugar plantation. Here he remained for four years. This experience impressed upon him the barbarity of slavery as it then existed in the West Indies, and greatly influenced his later activities. About 1801 Branagan came to Philadelphia and in succeeding years devoted much of his time to anti-slavery writings. Among his earlier essays (written prior to 1807) was "Buying Stolen Goods Synonymous with Stealing," in which he asked:

. . . can a Christian . . . buy and use the price and produce of human blood . . . and who is it that does not know that the produce of the southern planters, as well as West India produce, is stolen

views increased the acrimony (Samuel Macpherson Janney, *An Examination of the Causes Which Led to the Separation of the Religious Society of Friends in America, in 1827-28*, Philadelphia, 1868, pp. 211-213).

⁸ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 108 (July, 1846); William Allen, *Life of William Allen, with Selections from His Correspondence* (3 vols., London, 1846-47), II, 265. William Allen (Aug. 29, 1770-Dec. 30, 1843), the son of a British Quaker silk manufacturer, early showed an aptitude for chemistry and in 1795 he opened a laboratory. He belonged to various scientific societies and also participated in numerous philanthropic enterprises, among which were abolition and education. In 1814 he was presented to visiting allied sovereigns as a typical Quaker. Here began his friendship with the Russian Emperor, Alexander I, whom Allen later visited.

with a vengeance, and that a vengeance must attend both the buyers and the sellers . . . ?

He denounced the "fair devotees" of philanthropy who declaimed against slavery while at the same moment they sipped their tea "sweetened . . . by the sweat, the blood, the tears of their own tender sex. . . ." In a sterner tone he asserted:

Slavery depends on the consumption of the produce of its labour for support. Refuse this produce, and slavery MUST cease. Say not that individual influence is small. Every aggregate must be composed of a collection of individuals. . . . The number of those who have already refused the produce of slavery is large, it is increasing daily, and no bounds can be assigned to its future progress.⁹

The possibilities of individual abstinence when combined into a concerted effort were first demonstrated in 1791. The occasion was the unsuccessful effort to abolish the British slave trade. When the motion to effect that abolition failed in Parliament, a real popular protest arose throughout the British Isles. Led by Thomas Clarkson, who traveled some six thousand miles for the cause, as many as three hundred thousand persons, it was estimated, gave up the use of West India sugar in protest. The campaign was also characterized by numerous public meetings and a flood of petitions. Many pamphlets were also issued, among them, *A Short Sketch of the Evidence Delivered before a Committee of the House of Commons for the Abolition of the Slave Trade: To Which Is Added a Recommendation of the Subject to the Serious Attention of People in General*, by William Bell Crafton; *On the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum*, by William Fox; and *Considerations Addressed to Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination, on the Impropriety of Consuming West-India Sugar and Rum, as Produced by the Oppressive Labour of Slaves*. The arguments in all this pamphlet propaganda were essentially the same. The authors reached the conclusion that if one family using five

⁹ [Thomas Branagan,] *The Guardian Genius of the Federal Union; or, Patriotic Admonitions on the Signs of the Times, in Relation to the Evil Spirit of Party, Arising from the Root of All Our Evils, Human Slavery: Being Part of the Beauties of Philanthropy*, by a Philanthropist (2d ed., New York, 1840), pp. 13-19, 30-34. This volume contains twenty-three essays, of which the two here cited are "Memoirs of the Author" and "Buying Stolen Goods Synonymous with Stealing." Branagan died on June 13, 1843.

pounds of sugar a week would abstain for twenty-one months, it would prevent the enslavement and murder of one Negro. By other elaborate mathematical calculations they computed that 180,000 slaves had already been *consumed*. After detailing the horrors of the slave trade and West India slavery, they branded every consumer of West India produce as guilty of murder. A by-product of this movement was the advertisement by an enterprising chinaware merchant of sugar bowls "handsomely labelled in Gold Letters: 'East India Sugar not made by Slaves.'" ¹⁰ This British boycott of sugar was necessarily short-lived. It served, however, as an example of what could be done, and was very useful to later advocates of the cause.

At about the same time the post-Revolutionary opposition to slavery reached its climax in America. For a few years some abolitionists centered their enthusiastic attention upon the sugar maple as a potent agent in combating slavery. They confidently looked forward to the day when maple sugar would replace that of the West India cane in the markets of the world. Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, the French traveler, was among the most enthusiastic.

The Quakers [he said] have discerned in this production the means of destroying slavery. . . . Whenever . . . the production of this divine tree . . . may fill the markets of Europe . . . [it] will ruin the sale of that of the islands—a produce washed with the tears and the blood of slaves. . . . ¹¹

Gilbert Imlay, another early traveler, expressed the same faith in maple sugar without, however, applying it so emphatically to the slavery question. ¹² Dr. Benjamin Rush was one of the most prominent men to give attention to the idea at this time. He also looked

¹⁰ *Considerations on the Slave Trade and the Consumption of West Indian Produce* (London, 1791), pp. 1, 14; Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament* (2 vols., London, 1808), II, 346-354. Bibliographers are not agreed on the authorship of the pamphlets mentioned above. B. Henderson, *East India Sugar Basins* (n.p., n.d.), a broadside.

¹¹ Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America. Performed in 1788: Translated from the French* (London, 1792), pp. 301-306.

¹² Gilbert Imlay, *A Description of the Western Territory of North America: Containing a Succinct Account of Its Soil, Climate, Natural History, Population, Agriculture, Manners and Customs, in a Series of Letters to a Friend in England* (Dublin, 1793), reprinted in Great American Historical Classics Series (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1919), pp. 113-118, 184.

upon it as a solution to the slavery question. It was claimed that Thomas Jefferson went so far as to plant a large grove of maple trees. In any case he wrote in 1790:

Late difficulties in the sugar trade have excited attention to our sugar trees, and it seems fully believed by judicious persons, that we cannot only supply our own demand, but make for exportation. . . . What a blessing to substitute a sugar which requires only the labor of children for that which is said to render the slavery of blacks necessary.¹³

The propriety of using products of slave labor was first to come before an organized body in this country in 1796. The occasion was the third American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race, held in Philadelphia. The committee "to report to the Convention the objects proper for its attention" included in its recommendations

That, as one mean[s] of promoting its interests, they [i.e., the abolition societies represented in the Convention] be earnestly solicited to display a marked preference of all such commodities as are of the culture or manufacture of freemen, to those which are cultivated or manufactured by slaves.

This was seconded in the report of the committee to prepare the address "to the different Abolition Societies," which urged "a marked preference" for free labor articles, and added, "In this way every individual may discountenance oppression. . . ."¹⁴ Which member or members of these committees were responsible for the introduction of a statement urging abstinence from slave labor products is an unsolved question. The most likely supposition, however, is that it was a member of either the Pennsylvania or Delaware

¹³ Jefferson to Benjamin Vaughan, June 27, 1790, Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* . . . (20 vols., Washington, 1904), VIII, 50; Mary Stoughton Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America, from the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade (1619-1808)*, Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 11 (Boston, 1901), pp. 189 f.

¹⁴ American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Third Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies Established in Different Parts of the United States, Assembled at Philadelphia* . . . (Philadelphia, 1796), pp. 16, 28. The Committee on the Objects Proper for the Attention of the Society consisted of: Joseph Bloomfield (N. J.), Elihu Hubbard Smith (N. Y.), William Rogers (Pa.), William Poole (Del.), Joseph Townsend (Md.), Samuel Miller (N. Y.), and Micajah Davis (Va.). The Committee to Prepare the Address had as members: Caspar Wistar, Samuel Powell Griffiths, and Samuel Miller.

society. Warner Mifflin had been one of the delegates from Delaware at the first convention held in 1794. Twenty years passed before the subject again came to the attention of the American Convention, but a beginning was made in 1816 when that body attributed the evils of slavery to "the love of money" and added that the "increasing demand for the produce of the southern states had induced the planter to offer high prices for slaves." In 1823 the Convention subscribed for two hundred copies of *A Letter to M. Jean-Baptiste Say, on the Comparative Expense of Free and Slave Labour*, by Adam Hodgson, which was being republished by the New York Manumission Society.¹⁵ The meeting of 1825 resolved to offer a prize for the best exemplification of that idea in actual terms of profit realized from each sort of labor. Isaac Barton and Thomas Earle of the Pennsylvania delegation offered resolutions recommending that abolitionists give up the use of slave labor products and that premiums should be offered for sugar, cotton, rice, and tobacco which had indubitably been raised by free labor. The Convention showed little enthusiasm, however, and referred the resolution to the next session.¹⁶ To that assemblage, convened in 1826, Isaac Barton presented identical resolutions, which, this time, were adopted and incorporated into the Address to the Abolition, Manumission, and Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the United States. Endorsement also came from the Delaware Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and from the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, where Benjamin Lundy had pushed the subject at a state convention. Lundy's boundless energy in the anti-slavery cause was to provide a strong new force in the coming years.¹⁷

¹⁵ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1816), p. 4; (1823), p. 24. Hodgson's letter to Say is an elaborate discussion setting forth, on purely economic grounds, the real economy of free labor. It did not advocate free labor as a moral or religious duty.

¹⁶ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1825), pp. 17, 22.

¹⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, IV, 164 f. (Aug., 1825); V, 389 (Aug. 5, 1826); VI, 73 ff., 81 (Nov. 25, Dec. 2, 1826). Lundy organized the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland on Aug. 25, 1825. Its first annual convention adopted these statements: "We fear one of the most prominent causes of its [slavery's] continuance among us, is owing too much to the encouragement held out to slave holders by purchasing their produce; for according to the demand so is the inducement. . . . Therefore, *Resolved*, That the time has arrived when the friends of emancipation should, so far as is practicable, take a bold and vigorous stand against the use of all articles, the produce of slave labor. . . ." This resolution was to be forwarded to the American Convention.

CHAPTER II

A BEGINNING AT ORGANIZATION

It was inevitable that some kind of organization should be formed to advance the idea of boycotting slave labor goods. The first was apparently a "little society" founded at Wilmington, Delaware, in June, 1826, to work for the extinction of slavery in that state, and to consider the propriety of "consuming the products of *slave-labor*."¹ Organization was not perfected until December 21, 1826, when the Wilmington Society for the Encouragement of Free Labor adopted its constitution and elected officers. The constitution proclaimed that "Its object shall be to encourage the cultivation of such articles by Freemen as are now produced by the labor of slaves; and to collect and disseminate information calculated to promote the object of this Association." An acting committee of six members was to seek means of obtaining free labor goods, and was to encourage any measures which might promote "Free labor in the slave districts of the United States. . . ." Meetings of the society were to be held quarterly, and anyone might become a member by signing the constitution and paying fifty cents.²

In 1827 the Society was represented at the meeting of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race. To this assemblage the Wilmington society presented an address detailing their purposes. The work of their acting committee was summarized in their statement that considerable cotton could be had, "produced in the slave districts of the United States, untouched by slaves, some of which has been manufactured in this vicinity, and is now for sale, at fair prices." But when it came to groceries the story was less

¹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, V, 348 (July 1, 1826).

² *Ibid.*, VI, 129 (Jan. 27, 1827). [The numbering of this journal is very irregular, there having been several series, each with separately numbered volumes. To avoid confusion a straight numbering of volumes, beginning with I and running through XIV, has been adopted. From 1825 to 1828 the paper was issued weekly; the remainder was a monthly periodical. On numerous occasions it was not issued at all.]

Officers elected at this first meeting were: President, Lea Pusey; Vice-President, John Reynolds; Secretary, William P. Richards; Treasurer, Charles Canby; Acting Committee, Isaac Peirce, Dr. William Gibbons, Joseph G. Rowland, Eli Hilles, Benjamin Webb, and E. W. Gilbert.

encouraging, for "it is found that they can not yet be procured in sufficient quantities, at prices to compete with like articles produced by slave labor, coffee alone excepted."³ After this vigorous beginning the Wilmington society dropped from the picture, although it was in existence at the beginning of 1829.

The Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania was only a few months later in origin than its Wilmington counterpart, and was destined to a considerably longer existence. The preliminary meeting occurred on September 9, 1826, and was described by the philanthropist, James Mott, in a letter to his parents.

I have this evening attended a meeting of about forty Friends to take into consideration the propriety of forming an association to procure cotton, sugar, etc. raised by free labour. A committee of twelve was appointed to consider what means will best promote the object, and report to an adjourned meeting to be held the last of next week. This concern has spread very much in this city and neighbourhood within a few years, and I believe will eventually prevail.⁴

Actual organization was not achieved until January 8, 1827. The constitution declared that the use of slave labor products supported slavery, that abolition would be promoted by the substitution of free labor products, and that the economy of free labor should be proved to slaveholders.

Sixty-four men signed the constitution as members. Most of them were Quakers, and several continued to be active in the anti-slavery movement for many years. The first officers elected were: William Rawle, President; Thomas McClintock, Secretary; Benjamin Tucker, Vice-President; Henry M. Zollickoffer, Treasurer; and the Corresponding Committee composed of Abraham L. Pennock, Isaac Barton, Thomas Shipley, James Mott, George Peterson, Samuel Smith, Edwin P. Atlee, Nathan Shoemaker, Jonathan Palmer, Jr., and John Bouvier. Other prominent members included Isaac Tatem Hopper, William S. Hallowell, Joseph Parrish, and Joseph Parker.⁵

³ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1827), p. 46.

⁴ Ann Davis Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters*, Edited by *Their Granddaughter* (Boston, 1884), p. 96.

⁵ William Rawle (1759-1836), a prominent lawyer, was very active in civic affairs. Abraham L. Pennock (1786-1868) was at different times an officer in various anti-slavery societies, and was a delegate to the American Convention for the first time in 1817. He was later editor of the *Non-*

This Corresponding Committee was directed to communicate with anyone, anywhere "favorable to the labor of Freemen; and to the consumption of their products" in order to open the market for such goods. The Committee was also to circulate such information as it collected, and to emphasize the logic of the free labor cause. In January, 1827, the Society was given the use of a room in Clarkson Hall "free of expense" for its quarterly meetings.⁶

Pursuant to instructions, the Corresponding Committee, on April 11, 1827, issued a circular, probably in broadside form, expressing a desire to assist nonslaveholders in slave areas to find better markets for their crops, so as to prove thereby the superiority of free labor. Then followed a questionnaire asking for information, with names and addresses of individual farmers who were producing cotton, rice, sugar, molasses, tobacco, etc., by free labor. Other questions inquired how many persons might be induced to raise any of these products by free labor if assured of a market; how many consumers would purchase them "at a small advance above the market price"; and how many would buy them if sold at the same price as slave labor goods.⁷

When the American Convention assembled in 1827, the Free

Slaveholder and a member of the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association. Thomas McClintock was the author of one or more anti-slavery tracts. Benjamin Tucker died on June 24, 1833. Isaac Barton (1795-1868) had been active in the American Convention. Thomas Shipley (1787-1836) was also president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc. James Mott (1788-1868) is best known for his philanthropic and anti-slavery activities. It was about this time that he gave up his cotton-trade business because he felt it to be wrong. Edwin P. Atlee, a Philadelphia physician, was very active in the anti-slavery movement. John Bouvier (1787-1851) was born in France. After coming to the United States he was a newspaper editor and later became a lawyer. Joseph Parrish (1779-1840) was a physician. Isaac T. Hopper (1771-1852) was most prominent as a Friend (Hicksite) who was disowned chiefly because of his views on slavery.

⁶Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, *Constitution* . . . (Philadelphia [1827]), pp. 1-12. This constitution was also printed in full in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VII, 2 f. (July 4, 1827); Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race, Minutes (MS), Jan. 18, 1827, III (1825-47), 57.

Clarkson Hall stood at Sixth and Cherry streets. Presumably it was owned by the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., who conducted in it a school for Negro children and adults. It was used for many years as an auditorium for anti-slavery meetings.

⁷*Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VII, 11 (July 14, 1827).

Produce Society of Pennsylvania was represented alongside the "Delaware Free Labor Society of Wilmington." Benjamin Lundy, a delegate from Maryland, was the prime mover in placing the subject before the Convention. After getting a committee appointed to consider "the subject of free and slave labor and the propriety of further encouraging the use of productions not contaminated by slavery," Lundy introduced a resolution to appoint a committee to investigate the sources of free labor goods and report to the next meeting what experiments had been made in the use of free labor with a view to showing its advantages over slave labor.⁸

The Address of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania to the American Convention dwelt on the superiority of free labor, the need for proof thereof by actual demonstration, and the necessity of creating a demand for free produce. It presented abstinence as a proper, just, and reasonable means of opposing slavery. The position of these two societies was endorsed by the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, which had determined early in 1827 to bring the subject before the Convention.⁹

At the meeting of the American Convention in December, 1829, the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania was again represented and again offered an address reviewing its activities. They asserted that "It is no more than the exercise of an elective franchise, for the free man to purchase the products of the labour of freemen, in preference to that of Slaves." To prove the vitality of the cause in Pennsylvania, delegates announced the formation of the Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton.¹⁰

The first preliminary meeting of this society, with thirteen women present, was held in January, 1829. Within a few months membership mounted to more than a hundred, organization was completed, and a constitution adopted. With the sum realized from dues the Society first bought a little muslin, and then bought several

⁸ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1827), pp. 3-10. Members of the committee were: Benjamin Lundy, Thomas Shipley, Joseph Parker, William Kesley, and David Scholfield. Their report, given in 1828, listed various areas where free labor products could be obtained.

⁹ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1827), pp. 41 f.; Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., *Minutes* (MS), Jan. 4, 1827, III (1825-47), 66. Each society represented in the American Convention prepared an address which was read before the Convention. Delegates from the Pennsylvania Free Produce Society were Joseph Parrish, Joseph Parker, and Jesse W. Newport.

¹⁰ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1829), pp. 57-60.

bales of cotton which were manufactured into apron checks and bedticking.¹¹ The Society appealed to women generally to exert their influence by abstinence from slave labor products, and by instilling in their "offspring a deep-felt sense of their duty [to give] the preference to the products of free labor."

Let societies be formed among you to promote this. . . . It is true, some inconveniences will at first be unavoidable, the texture of your garments will perhaps be coarser than that of your accustomed wear, but they will cling less heavily around your forms, for the sighs of the broken-hearted will not linger among their folds.¹²

In October, 1829, the Society reported that slightly more than 2,500 pounds of free upland cotton had been "manufactured into gingham, checks, bedtickings, stripes, knitting and sewing cotton, and cotton hose."¹³ The cotton here referred to was obtained from Nathan Hunt, Jr., of Guilford County, North Carolina, who collected it from Quaker and other nonslaveholding farmers in that area.¹⁴ In June, 1830, the committee reported no profit, but also no loss on its transactions, and hence felt encouraged. They then had some 2,500 yards of goods available. Men of the Pennsylvania Free Produce Society had voluntarily raised \$1,000 as a loan without interest for one year so that the women might expand their operations.¹⁵

At the end of a year the demand for free labor cotton goods had outrun the Society's ability to supply them. At this juncture, however, Nathan Hunt, Jr., was ready to send forty bales of free labor cotton. Since this amount was far beyond the finances of the Society, they considered it "expedient to engage a person of veracity to purchase it on his own responsibility, keep it separate from other cotton, and have it manufactured into such goods as are best suited to the market. One of this character has presented himself. . . ." A month later thirty bales of the cotton had been received and were in process of manufacture.¹⁶ This made a stock of several thousand yards of cloth of various kinds which apparently was sold without trouble.

The Society continued very vigorous throughout its second

¹¹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, X, 4 (Sept. 2, 1829).

¹² *Ibid.*, X, 12 (Sept. 16, 1829). ¹³ *Ibid.*, X, 58 (Oct. 30, 1829).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 68 (Nov. 6, 1829). ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XI, 43 f. (June, 1830).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XI, 10, 25 (April, May, 1830). The person was probably Samuel Comly, mentioned in the report.

year, with monthly reports of activities and manufacturing. In April, 1831, they noted the receipt of some free labor cotton from Santo Domingo and two bales from South Carolina. The Society existed in the spring of 1833, but apparently the first enthusiasm had waned, and, doubtless, difficulties had been encountered. The organization probably faded out of existence shortly thereafter, or perhaps the ramifications of business appeared to be going beyond the proper sphere of feminine activities.¹⁷

In any event it was the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania which carried on the burden of the work. The members were optimistic in 1829 over the prospect of obtaining free labor products. In addition to the cotton sent by Nathan Hunt, Jr., they were assured that nonslaveholding farmers near Washington, North Carolina, would soon be raising cotton, while in the same area many of them raised a little rice. The Society hoped that its purchases would lead to the growing of more rice. The search for sugar was the most difficult. From Puerto Rico they first obtained twelve hogsheads of sugar raised by a Creole planter who was personally opposed to slavery. They expected to obtain one hundred hogsheads of sugar annually from this source, and supplement it with maple sugar and maple syrup. During 1829 the Society purchased over \$4,000 worth of free labor sugar and molasses. Procurement and sale of free grocery products were carried on by Charles Pierce in Philadelphia. In 1831 his sales exceeded \$5,000, while by that time several other small stores had been set up.¹⁸

There is no doubt that the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania continued to exist, but its status is another matter. In 1837 it addressed the special and final meeting of the American Convention, wherein it lamented the apathy of its members, but reaffirmed its faith in the cause and noted the increased abstinence and readier means for obtaining free labor goods.¹⁹

Meantime there were a few other small societies. Two of them, which were directly the work of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, were the Colored Free Produce Society of Pennsyl-

¹⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, XI, 199 (April, 1831); XII, 11, 162 (May, 1831, March, 1832); XIII, 110 (May, 1833).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, X, 58 (Oct. 30, 1829); XI, 194 (April, 1831). Rice could be obtained from the East Indies, but the quality was described as poor and the price very high.

¹⁹ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1837), pp. 20 f.

vania and the Colored Female Free Produce Society. Both were organized at the beginning of 1831. Benjamin Lundy addressed the men's society on April 18, 1831, and induced them to appropriate ten dollars to be added to a premium offered for free labor rice. The Female Society was organized and carried on in conjunction with the "Female Free Cotton Society."²⁰

The free produce movement west of the Alleghanies had its first advocates in eastern Ohio. In 1826 the Aiding Abolition Society of Monroe County, Ohio, issued an "Address to the Merchants of the State of Ohio and Elsewhere" which declared that merchants as well as their customers were the supporters of slavery. It called on the people of Ohio to co-operate in using as little slave labor goods as possible and expressed the hope that every merchant would support the cause.²¹ On October 26, 1833, the Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society of Monroe County, Ohio, was formed "to abolish slavery in the United States, and particularly to abstain, as far as practicable, from the produce of slave-labor. . . ." Salem, in Columbiana County, Ohio, was, however, the great anti-slavery center in that state. On January 6, 1827, the Salem Abolition and Colonization Society was formed.²² Its later history is obscure, but the breath of revival reached it on January 19, 1834, when the New Garden Anti-Slavery Society, an auxiliary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was formed. The New Garden society embodied in its constitution the determination of "abstaining, as far as practicable, from the use of the PRODUCTS OF SLAVERY. . . ." The Convention which organized the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society in 1835 declared that it would "practically testify against slavery, by giving a uniform preference to the products of free labor."²³

In September, 1832, the Free Produce Association of Green Plain (Clark County, Ohio) was organized. Apparently it began as early as 1829 in a very small way among a few Quaker women "to whom the sweets of the cane, cultivated amid sighs and tears, have become loathsome; to whom gorgeous apparel, purchased at

²⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, XI, 194 (Supplement, April, 1831); XII, 12, 57 (May, Aug., 1831).

²¹ *Ibid.*, V, 338 (June 24, 1826); *Liberator*, IV, 170 (Oct. 25, 1834).

²² *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VI, 183 (April 14, 1827); *Liberator*, IV, 45 (March 22, 1834).

²³ Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, *Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention: Held at Putnam, on the Twenty-second, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fourth of April, 1835* (n.p., n.d.), p. 9.

the price of blood, hath become a burden too heavy to be borne."²⁴ They wrote of their efforts to the "Ladies' Free Produce Society of Philadelphia" and sought to buy free labor goods from the latter. The Green Plain society's first annual report a year later at least showed it to be in a flourishing condition and still earnest in the cause. Its activities, if any, are not indicated in the report. In near-by Harrison County (Ohio) the Harrisville Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society was likewise inquiring about the purchase of free labor dry goods from Philadelphia.²⁵

During these years other small societies which at least endorsed the free produce principle were organized in Pennsylvania. One of these, the Centreville Abolition Society of Washington County, had among its leaders Jesse Kenworthy, who in 1825 and 1826 was urging abstinence on its members. As early as 1826 individual inquiries about free labor cotton came from Chester County, Pennsylvania, where, in 1833, the Oxford Free Produce Society was formed. On November 2, 1838, this group dissolved and reorganized as the Union Free Produce Society, an auxiliary of the American Free Produce Association which it had helped to form earlier that year. The Union Free Produce Society was active for at least seven years. It immediately made plans to open a free produce store. The meetings of 1839 and 1840 were much occupied with discussions of the proposition that the use of slave labor produce is "essentially sinful under all circumstances." They investigated the existence of slavery in British India, and continued their annual meetings through 1845, after which this society disappeared.²⁶ A third, the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Association of Citizens of Lancaster and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania, was organized late in 1832. By 1834 its members were asking, "Is it consistent with the principles of Abolitionists, to use the products of slave labor?"²⁷

The feeble and scattered efforts of the free produce cause were

²⁴ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, X, 68 (Nov. 6, 1829); XIII, 77 (March, 1833).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 77 (March, 1833); XIV, 13 (Jan., 1834).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 11 (Supplement, 1825); 187 f. (Feb. 11, 1826); *Pennsylvania Freeman* (Philadelphia), Feb. 21, May 9, 1839, Sept. 10, 1840, July 28, Nov. 3, 1841, Jan. 2, May 22, 1845; *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle* (Newport, Wayne Co., Ind.), I, 294 f. (Nov. 9, 1841).

The first president of the Union Free Produce Association was William Brosius (1798-1887), a member and minister of Penn's Grove Monthly Meeting, and very active in many phases of the anti-slavery cause.

²⁷ *Liberator*, IV, 145 (Sept. 13, 1834).

soon to feel the stimulation of that sudden growth of abolition activity which began in 1831. The free produce principle distinctly belonged to the Quakers, was associated with the older abolitionism, and was publicized chiefly by Benjamin Lundy through the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It was now to be adopted by many who became leading abolitionists. Among these was William Lloyd Garrison, whose advocacy of the boycott idea was unquestionably due to his association with Lundy. So strong was this influence that Garrison in his "Declaration of Sentiments" proclaimed, "We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions," when he organized the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833.²⁸ Garrison continued to be an earnest advocate of the free labor principle for the next five or six years—in fact, until the complexities and ramifications of the abolition movement turned his attention to other things. Theodore Weld's statement during the same period shows the attitude of many abolitionists:

In lecturing [he said] it has been my great endeavor to push the main point. . . . I have dwelt little upon *collateral* principles—such as abstinence from the products of slave labor—not because it is not a duty, for so I believe, and so have practiced for years—but because *mind* acts, upon a collateral principle, *spontaneously*, if it be *first* anchored upon the main principle.²⁹

Likewise, many of the local anti-slavery societies organized between 1833 and 1836 adopted the boycott as a collateral principle. This was almost certain to be the case wherever a sufficient number of Quakers participated to wield an influence. The idea was popular with women's societies and was considered a peculiarly appropriate tenet for them since it so closely concerned household economy.³⁰

²⁸ American Anti-Slavery Society, *The Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society* . . . (New York, 1837), p. 6; *Liberator*, IV, 101 (June 28, 1834). A committee recommended offering premiums for free labor goods in 1834.

²⁹ Theodore D. Weld to J. F. Robinson, May 1, 1836; Angelina Grimké Weld to Elizabeth Pease, Aug. 14, 1839 (Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, *Letters* . . . 1822-1844, ed. Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, 2 vols., New York, 1934, I, 296; II, 782); *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 185 (April, 1847). Before 1847 Garrison turned completely away from the free labor idea and considered it a waste of time, when there were so many more practical things to be done.

³⁰ *Liberator*, II, 110 (July 14, 1832); IV, 61 (April 19, 1834); Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, *Report* (2d ed., Boston, 1836), p. 79; Rhode

It was a subject of deliberation in the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. First assembled at New York in 1837, this group listened to a letter from the Free Produce Society of Oxford, Pennsylvania, after which Lucretia Mott offered a resolution, requiring a "prayerful examination" of women's duty in the matter of using slave labor products. The Convention issued *An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States*, which devoted four pages to decrying the use of slave labor products. Herein they argued that free labor goods would be provided as soon as there was a demand; meanwhile women should gladly "suffer the inconvenience of deprivation, and then will *you*, dear sisters, become the favored instruments in the Lord's hand. . . ." ³¹ The next year Thankful Southwick of Boston offered a resolution "That it is the duty of all . . . to make the *most vigorous efforts* to procure for the use of their families the products of *free labor* . . .," while Abby Kelley's resolution avowed "That we are very deeply implicated in the sin of using our brother's service without wages. . . ." ³²

Meanwhile, men in the Society of Friends (particularly the Hicksite branch) were stirring in the cause. Charles Marriott had begun to advocate the free labor principle as early as 1824. Eleven of his essays published at various times were in 1835 issued together as *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Duty of Declining the Use of the Products of Slave Labour*. Therein he reviewed all the arguments on the subject, he dwelt on Quaker testimony against prize goods and war, he appealed to the women, and he avowed that nothing but Quaker unfaithfulness in maintaining a consistent testimony against slavery had thus long

Island State Anti-Slavery Society, *Proceedings of the Rhode-Island Anti-Slavery Convention, Held in Providence, on the 2d, 3d and 4th of February, 1836* (Providence, 1836), p. 59.

³¹ Two conventions were held, one in 1837 and the other in 1838. Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. 1st, New York, 1837. *Proceedings* . . . (New York, 1837), pp. 12, 13; *An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States* . . . (New York, 1837), pp. 24-28; *National Enquirer and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty*, July 1, 8, 1837.

³² Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. 2d, Philadelphia, 1838. *Proceedings of a Convention Held in Philadelphia, May 15-18, 1838* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 7 f.; *Address to Anti-Slavery Societies* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 10 f. Abigail (Kelley) Foster (1810-1887) was born in Pelham, Mass. She abandoned teaching in 1837 to lecture in the abolition cause, and after 1850 she became a leader in the women's rights movement. In 1845 she married Stephen Symonds Foster, with whom she had been associated in abolition lecture tours.

prevented incorporation into the Discipline of an article requiring the boycott of slave labor products.³³

This and other influences worked together during the next three years to carry the cause to new heights of achievement. Among the many bodies which assembled at Pennsylvania Hall³⁴ in May, 1838, was the Requisite Labor Convention, which initiated the second effort towards an organized boycott of slave labor goods. It is impossible to determine just what forces were behind this new action. During the preceding months local anti-slavery societies had sprung up with bewildering rapidity in the Philadelphia area. They represented all shades of opinion from the most radical to the relatively staid. William C. Betts, one of the leaders in the effort, was a member of the Philadelphia City Anti-Slavery Society and the City and County Anti-Slavery Society.³⁵ The first call was sent out by the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society of Chester County, Pennsylvania. Its members were as radical as could be found among Quakers anywhere, and later formed the nucleus which became Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends.³⁶ Among

³³ Pp. 12, 17. Charles Marriott (1782-1843) was born in Lancashire, England, the son of Henry and Margaret Marriott. About 1800 the family moved to Hudson, N. Y. Charles Marriott, prominent in a religious capacity as well as active in the anti-slavery cause, wrote for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and the *Liberator*. His greatest interest was to bring the Society of Friends to a firmer stand against slavery. To this end he wrote the above-mentioned tract, which the Meeting for Sufferings refused to endorse. When his friends joined him in publishing it on his own responsibility, Marriott, Isaac T. Hopper, and James S. Gibbons were disowned. Marriott then joined the American Anti-Slavery Society and became active in publishing the *Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York Association of Friends for the Relief of Those Held in Slavery, &c., *Testimony Concerning Charles Marriott, Deceased*, New York, 1844, pp. 1-15).

³⁴ Pennsylvania Hall was erected with funds raised by voluntary subscription, under the direction of a board of citizens known as the Pennsylvania Hall Association. The building was dedicated on May 15, 1838, as a "temple of free speech" and burned by a mob two days thereafter, in protest against the anti-slavery meetings being held there.

³⁵ William C. Betts (Jan. 22, 1813-June 27, 1844) was also a charter member of the Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, etc. He presided at the Requisite Labor Convention, and was in 1839 and 1840 secretary of the American Free Produce Association and a member of its committee on manufactures. For a time his house was the depository for the goods manufactured. Betts's untimely death from lockjaw at the age of thirty-one deprived the anti-slavery movement of an energetic leader.

³⁶ Progressive or Congregational Friends were formed chiefly of Hicksite radicals who were dissatisfied with the Quaker stand on slavery and other social questions. The movement centered at Kennett Square, Pa., where

the societies invited to participate was the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c., whose president stiffly declined "engaging in the proposed Convention." The general call was addressed to "Anti-Slavery Societies and Individuals throughout the United States." Some 271 delegates representing 23 anti-slavery societies (chiefly in Pennsylvania and New Jersey) were in attendance.³⁷ They immediately proceeded to form a "National Required Labor Association" by appointing committees to draft a constitution, to determine the agenda, to "prepare and publish an Address on the duty of abstaining from the produce of slave labor . . .," and to seek sources of free labor produce.

After two days of discussion the convention was forced to suspend its deliberations on account of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall on the night of May 17-18 and the mob spirit which prevailed in Philadelphia for several days. On September 5, 1838, the Required Labor Convention reassembled (with fifty-seven delegates present), adopted the constitution which established the American Free Produce Association, and elected officers. Other business included proposals to establish free produce stores, to induce some manufacturers to use free labor cotton exclusively, and to raise money for the maintenance of an agent. After long discussion the fundamental resolution was adopted: "That as slaves are robbed of fruits of their toil, all who partake of those fruits are participants in the robbery and . . . we earnestly recommend to all abolitionists to en-

the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends assembled annually from 1853 to 1941. Green Plain Quarterly Meeting (Ohio) joined the movement in 1848, after being "laid down" for insubordination by Indiana Yearly Meeting. A similar break took place among Friends around Collins Center, N. Y. The slavery question was largely responsible for the original break, but in later years Progressive Friends sponsored many unpopular social reforms.

³⁷ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, March 15, 1838, June 19, 1845; Pennsylvania Hall Association, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*, pp. 127-135; Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., Minutes (MS), April 26, 1838, III (1825-47), 330.

The societies participating in the Convention were: Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society, City and County A.S.S., Lynn (Mass.) A.S.S., Kennett A.S.S., Wilberforce A.S.S., Junior A.S.S., Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, etc., Oxford (Pa.) Free Produce Association, Northern Liberties A.S.S., Colerain A.S.S., Burlington City A.S.S., Buckingham Female A.S.S., Delaware County A.S.S., Lynn Female A.S.S., Kimberton A.S.S., Snowhill and Mount Zion A.S.S., Philadelphia City A.S.S., Frankford A.S.S., Spring Garden A.S.S., Bucks County A.S.S., West Chester A.S.S., East Fallowfield A.S.S., and Philadelphia Female A.S.S.

courage the furnishing of the market with free goods, by purchasing and using such only as are of this class."

The list of officers is most interesting. The president was Gerrit Smith. Vice-presidents were William Bassett, Abraham L. Pennock, William H. Johnson, all Friends, and Lewis Tappan, the philanthropist. The secretaries were Daniel L. Miller, Jr., and Lewis C. Gunn, and the treasurer Lucretia Mott, all Friends. The executive committee consisted of Charles C. Burleigh (the abolitionist and editor), Henry Grew, William C. Betts, John H. Cavender, Caleb Clothier (a Philadelphia Friend), Lydia White (who long operated a free produce store in Philadelphia), David Ellis, Sidney Ann Lewis, Martha Hampton, Sarah Pugh, and Alice Eliza Hambleton, all members of the Society of Friends. This list of officers exemplifies the cosmopolitan character of the movement at this initial stage. All varieties of anti-slavery people endorsed it. The wealthy philanthropist, the fiery abolitionist, and the Quakers, both Hicksite and Orthodox, united to advance the cause.³⁸

The committee to prepare an address finally published its *Address to Abolitionists*, of which Lewis C. Gunn was the principal author. This was probably the strongest statement of the case yet issued. Gunn's fundamental premises were concise: "*The love of money is the root of the evil of slavery—and the products of slave-labor are stolen goods.*" After dwelling on the sinfulness of slaveholding and the consequent involvement of consumers in the sin,

³⁸ Philadelphia. Requisite Labor Convention. *Minutes of Proceedings of the Requisite Labor Convention, Held in Philadelphia, on the 17th and 18th of the Fifth Month, and by Adjournment on the 5th and 6th of the Ninth Month, 1838* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 3-13. This pamphlet also contains extracts of letters from abolitionists who were unable to attend. Among these one from William Goddell to Lewis C. Gunn, dated Utica, Aug. 29, 1838, is especially significant. He wrote: "It would give me pleasure to attend your *Free Labor Convention*. . . . In the early part of our anti-slavery movement, I was among those who anticipated some action on this subject by the societies then organized. The topic was introduced in the Convention in your city for forming the American Anti-Slavery Society, in December, 1833, when it appeared that not a few of our friends were apprehensive that its incorporation into our enterprise would cripple our efforts, and shut us out of the manufacturing districts of the North. A resolution, however, was adopted, recommending the subject to the attention of the Executive Committee. But it soon appeared that neither the members of that body, nor the constituency represented by them, were prepared to make any decisive advances in relation to it. The subject was not understood. It had not been discussed . . ." (pp. 16-18). *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Oct. 11, 1838.

he concluded that "*The purchaser of slave produce is, himself, virtually the plunderer of the slaves. . . . And the consumers . . . are slaveholders.*" Replying to the objection that abstinence by a few would have no perceptible effect, he insisted "that if the use of these productions is positively assisting (in however small a degree) to keep men in slavery, no one, who considers it wrong to keep them so, is at liberty to assist even to this trifling extent." Estimating the Society of Friends at 150,000, members of anti-slavery societies at 180,000, and adding the free colored people, he reached a total of 600,000 persons "who might be expected . . . to withdraw at once their pecuniary aid" from the sin of slavery, and that "would produce *an impression . . . on the market for slave produce, and on the profitableness of slave labor.*"³⁹

The first annual meeting of the American Free Produce Association was held at Philadelphia on October 15 and 16, 1839, with over one hundred persons present, among whom were William Bassett and William Lloyd Garrison. The executive committee lamented its small accomplishments, but hailed emancipation in the British colonies as a great boon to the cause, and looked forward to an increase in the amount of free labor cotton when an agent could be sent to the South to seek it out. While no stores had yet been opened, the committee anticipated no trouble in getting cotton cloth manufactured. Resolutions were passed appointing a committee to lay the free labor argument before anti-slavery societies generally, to name delegates for the Anti-Slavery Convention of the World to be held at London in 1840, to correspond with the British India Society,⁴⁰ and "to prepare and publish a list of the places or countries where articles, the result of remunerated labor, are raised, or whence they can be obtained, together with a list of Stores . . .

³⁹ Lewis C. Gunn, *Address to Abolitionists* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 3-16.

⁴⁰ The British India Society was a body of social-minded men who hoped by influencing British public opinion to gain for the people of India the rights and privileges they might properly expect. For the economic advancement of India, the Society urged the abolition of protective duties so that the products of India might compete fairly with those of other parts of the Empire (*Pennsylvania Freeman*, March 24, 1841; Joseph Pease, Sen., *A Letter from Joseph Pease, Sen., Addressed to Jonathan Backhouse, of Darlington, Both Members of the South Durham British India Society, on the Subject of the Slave Trade, and Slavery*, Darlington, May 11, 1842, n.p., September 5, 1842, a broadside).

at which free goods can be purchased." William Bassett was elected president, and other changes in officers were made.⁴¹

The annual meeting of 1840 passed the customary resolutions in support of the boycott principle, but had to confess that comparatively little had been accomplished. Less than four hundred dollars had been raised. With this, however, a small amount of free labor cotton had been purchased and manufactured, chiefly into muslin. The list of places where free labor products could be obtained had been prepared, but was so incomplete as to be almost useless.⁴² On January 29, 1841, a mid-year meeting was held. Various resolutions were passed endorsing the cause and concluding, "Resolved, That we eminently attribute the want of success in the abolition enterprise, to professed abolitionists not witnessing by their lives the truths they proclaim." The executive committee during this year did considerable work in urging the free produce cause upon anti-slavery societies generally.⁴³

The third annual meeting convened at Clarkson Hall on October 19 and 20, 1841. The committee to propose a plan more effectually to promote abstinence from slave labor products reported "That they . . . were unable to see in what way the object of the Association could be better promoted than by each one abstaining from the use of slave grown produce." They did, however, recommend the raising of more funds for the purchase of newly available supplies of free labor cotton, they issued an "Address to Abolitionists," and they sent a letter to each state anti-slavery society urging adoption of the free produce principle.⁴⁴

The Association held its fourth annual meeting on November 21, 1842. Delegates were present from the Philadelphia Female

⁴¹ Weld-Grimké, *Letters . . . 1822-1844*, II, 797; *Liberator*, IX, 163, 182 (Oct. 11, Nov. 15, 1839). Information on the meeting is taken from Garrison's editorial summary of the proceedings. William Bassett was a shoemaker of Lynn, Mass. He was disowned by the Society of Friends in July, 1840, for his anti-slavery activities (William Bassett, *Proceedings of the Society of Friends in the Case of William Bassett*, Worcester, Mass., 1840, pp. 2-24). Bassett himself published this document in protest against the action.

⁴² *Free Labor Advocate*, I, 6, 8 (Feb. 8, 1841); *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Sept. 10, 1840. This list had been compiled at the instance of the Union Free Produce Association.

⁴³ *Free Labor Advocate*, I, 46, 48, 200 (March 8, 24, Aug. 9, 1841); *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Feb. 17, 1841.

⁴⁴ *Free Labor Advocate*, I, 342 (Dec. 24, 1841); *Protectionist*, I, 359 f. (Dec. 4, 1841); *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Oct. 27, Nov. 3, 10, 1841.

Anti-Slavery Society, the Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., and from the Union Free Produce Association. The executive committee reported the wide circulation of their "Address to Abolitionists" issued in 1841. They also announced "a small paper for gratuitous circulation," the *American Free Produce Journal*, of which the first number had been issued in October, 1842. Its purpose was to spread the free produce idea among anti-slavery societies generally. The manufacturing committee reported the purchase of more cotton and the sale of about \$3,000 worth of goods during the preceding year. A resolution to dissolve the Association led to an "animated discussion" and resulted in a unanimous vote to carry on.⁴⁵

The report for 1843 was the most optimistic in the society's history. Operations had been considerably extended as a result of the increased demand and supply of free labor goods. Sale of goods was more than double that of the preceding year. Discussion of the subject and organization of free produce associations had occurred in many places, but there was still much to be done. Consequently, the society was urged "to continue its efforts with increased zeal and diligence. . . ." ⁴⁶

In 1844 the Association addressed the abolitionists of Great Britain, reviewing its activities and urging the cause generally. The executive committee continued to feel cheered with progress of the cause. New societies had been organized, and the demand for goods was increasing.⁴⁷ The executive committee in 1845 confessed that there was little to report except what properly pertained to the manufacturing committee. After referring to an increasing interest in the free labor cause, the executive committee avowed its

. . . undiminished confidence in the principles on which our Association is based, and earnestly wish that the hearty adoption of them by every Anti-Slavery Society in the land, might render unnecessary a distinct organization for their promotion . . . it is a cause of surprise and deep regret that many abolitionists whose eagle eyes are continually discovering new and rugged paths of duty . . . should

⁴⁵ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Nov. 17, 1842; *American Free Produce Journal*, I, 1-4 (Oct. 1, 1842). This was presumably the only issue published. No mention of it is made in the report for 1843.

⁴⁶ American Free Produce Association, *Fifth Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1843), pp. 3-11; *Free Labor Advocate*, Jan. 5, 1844.

⁴⁷ *Free Labor Advocate*, March 22, May 10, 1845. These societies will be dealt with in the next chapter.

not yet have seen . . . that true consistency requires of them abstinence from the purchase of the ill-gotten fruits of slavery.⁴⁸

During 1846 and 1847 the optimistic tone continued. In the latter year the American Free Produce Association ceased to manufacture cotton goods, since that function had been assumed by the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.⁴⁹ The Association continued a nominal existence for several years, but there appear to be no records.⁵⁰ The non-Quaker minority had fallen away, having become absorbed in other more spectacular and less exacting fields of anti-slavery activity. The Quaker members, almost all, went into the new organization which was limited to members of the Society of Friends. Thus ended the first phase of the free produce movement.

⁴⁸ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 20 (Feb., 1846).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 161 (Nov., 1846); *Free Labor Advocate*, Nov. 18, 1847; Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Minutes of the Board of Managers (MS), Dec. 8, 1847, p. 71.

⁵⁰ As late as 1852 George W. Taylor still had on hand in his free produce store some 200 yards of cloth and some other articles which had been turned over to him in 1847, but remained "unsold because they would not sell at the prices he was authorized to sell them at—" On Nov. 16, 1852, he turned them over to Rebecca S. Hart, "by order of Danl. L. Miller, Jr. Treasurer of the Assn." (G. W. Taylor to Rebecca S. Hart, Nov. 16, 1852, Taylor Letterbooks, I, 74).

CHAPTER III

FREE PRODUCE BECOMES A QUAKER MOVEMENT

Before 1831 the anti-slavery movement was a mild-mannered, theoretical reform sponsored by small and isolated groups of plain people. Its chief manifestation was in manumission societies which flourished in the South even more than in the North. Quakers were responsible for the manumission societies of North Carolina and Tennessee, while in Kentucky Baptists and Methodists had similar organizations. Propaganda was limited and local in extent, gradual emancipation was the goal, and funds scarcely existed. Benjamin Lundy was the leader of this movement in which most Quakers participated. Fanaticism in the hands of William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Dwight Weld, Henry B. Stanton, and other crusaders put an end to the old movement, which could show little in actual results. The new abolition was grounded on the crusading spirit, evangelism, constant agitation, immediate emancipation, political action, and no compromise.

Since all these characteristics did not appear at the outset, the abolition movement was looked upon with favor by a very considerable portion of the Society of Friends. Between 1831 and 1837, especially, most Quakers of liberal views were extremely active in forming the new state anti-slavery societies, while the most radical often belonged to a half-dozen local and regional organizations. It was not long, however, before the new abolition movement showed characteristics which were not compatible with Quaker views. The introduction of other reforms, such as temperance, women's rights, and political action against slavery, resulted only in hostility and withdrawal by the large body of conservative Quakers who felt it wrong to engage in the "excitements of the day." Liberal and radical Quakers, however, could not see any dangerous tendencies, and so continued their anti-slavery work.

With these differences of opinion rife in American Quakerdom, trouble was bound to follow. By 1836 some of the yearly meetings openly endorsed the doctrine of immediate emancipation and condemned colonization.¹ During the next three years the conserva-

¹ *Friend* (Philadelphia), X, 46 (Nov. 12, 1836). The unit of organi-

tives gained control of nearly every yearly meeting and proceeded to issue minutes of advice warning members against joining "mixed" anti-slavery societies.² In many places, especially in the West, Quaker meetinghouses were closed to abolition lecturers through the caution or hostility of conservative leaders.³

The results were various. Throughout the East conservative power was too strong to be disputed, so that there was no united protest. Some radical members withdrew voluntarily, some were disowned, others remained members in name though "fellowship" was strained; while still others quietly formed free produce societies to satisfy their anti-slavery convictions, otherwise participating in their religious organization and bearing quietly various discriminations against them, particularly refusal to permit the use of meetinghouses for their free produce meetings.⁴ Adding to these complica-

zation in the Society of Friends is the yearly meeting, which assembles annually. The fifteen Orthodox and seven Hicksite yearly meetings in America are all independent of each other. A Permanent Board (originally called the Meeting for Sufferings) acts for the yearly meeting between sessions. Each yearly meeting is divided into quarterly meetings which assemble three or four times a year. Below them are the monthly meetings which are the business sessions of congregations. Subordinate to monthly meetings are preparative meetings, usually composed of one congregation. In all these units business is conducted by secretaries, clerks, and committees. These and other Quaker organizations have no president, nor do they vote on questions before the house; rather the clerk records "the sense of the meeting."

² The term "mixed" was regularly used to refer to any group composed of Quakers and non-Quakers. Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Minutes* (1838), pp. 18 f., (1839), p. 24; *Friend* (Philadelphia), XII, 279 (June 1, 1839); George Evans to Mary Evans, March 19, April 23, May 27, 28, 1840 (Letters from George Evans to His Family and Particular Friends . . . [MS]).

³ Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Minutes* (1841), p. 17; *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Salem, Ohio), Sept. 5, 1845.

⁴ Among the most prominent of those who withdrew voluntarily were Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Abby Kelley. Outstanding among those disowned were Arnold Buffum, Charles Marriott, Isaac Tatem Hopper, James S. Gibbons, and George F. White, all of the Hicksite branch, and William Bassett. The grounds for expulsion were usually vague and seldom mentioned the real cause. Conspicuous among those who remained nominal members was Lucretia Mott, while to the last category belong almost all the members of free produce societies in the East. See Thomas Edward Drake, "Northern Quakers and Slavery" (MS doctoral dissertation, Yale, 1933), pp. 213-215, 218; William Bassett, *Proceedings of the Society of Friends in the Case of William Bassett*, pp. 2-24; "A Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of New York, concerning our Beloved Friend, George F. White, deceased," in New York Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), *Memorials concerning*

tions was the Wilbur-Gurney controversy, which troubled the Society for many years following 1845. The difficulty was partly doctrinal, but it also had social manifestations. Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a well-educated British Friend of cultured tastes, promulgated views of an evangelical nature. American opposition to him was led by John Wilbur (1774-1856), a Rhode Island Quaker who believed in traditional doctrines and viewpoints. Gurney's visit to the United States resulted in a separation in New England, where Wilbur led the minority of seceders. This event caused repercussions throughout all the yearly meetings. Separation in Ohio did not come until 1854, when the majority went with the Wilburites. Three general conferences to promote unity were unsuccessful. While there was no actual separation in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the situation was long unhappy. In the end those of Wilburite leanings concentrated at Fourth and Arch Street meetinghouse, while those who favored Gurney centered at Twelfth Street meeting. Members of this latter meeting led the free produce movement and other reforms in Philadelphia. Those of Wilburite tendencies held aloof from social questions and politics.⁵

In the West there was less peace and more action. The trouble centered in Indiana Yearly Meeting, where there was a large minority of radicals. Advices in 1839 against joining anti-slavery societies were spurned by one quarterly meeting.⁶ Leadership in the yearly meeting was about equally divided between radicals and conservatives. The trouble reached a climax in October, 1842, when the conservatives seized control and removed from the Meeting for Sufferings (the executive board of the yearly meeting) eight members of long standing. These included Charles Osborn, a distinguished and revered minister and anti-slavery leader; Benjamin Stanton and Henry H. Way, editors of the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*; and others of equal prominence. This action put the yearly meeting into a furor which lasted for months.

Deceased Friends, published by Direction of the Yearly Meeting of New York (New York, 1859), pp. 161-177; Lydia Maria Child, *Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life* (Boston, 1853), pp. 388-399.

⁵ Allen C. Thomas and Richard Henry Thomas, *A History of the Friends in America* (6th ed., Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 144-148, and information given the writer by Francis R. Taylor. The literature of this controversy is very extensive. The Hicksite branch was not affected.

⁶ *Friend* (Philadelphia), XVII, 85 (Dec. 9, 1843).

In February, 1843, after much discussion the radical faction determined to secede and organized itself as Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends.⁷

Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends soon had between two and three thousand members. Its center was Newport (now Fountain City), Indiana, which was the home of Levi Coffin and a prominent station on the Underground Railroad. The *Free Labor Advocate* became the press organ of the seceders who sought, but never received, recognition by any other yearly meeting. In 1845 a mission of five British Friends from London Yearly Meeting sought to reconcile the two factions, but failed completely.⁸ Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends continued to function until 1857, when it dissolved for want of members, most of whom had gone back to their original yearly meeting. No formal disownments or reinstatements ever took place. Meanwhile Indiana Yearly Meeting tacitly acknowledged its mistake in pursuing a policy which had resulted in such a separation, and became itself progressively abolitionist. Indeed, in 1850 the question came up in the Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color, whereupon a spontaneous desire for a special meeting on free produce became apparent. Such a meeting was held with some fifteen hundred persons in attendance, and the subject was fully discussed. When the ques-

⁷ The chief sources on this controversy are: Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, Minutes (MS), 1843-57, and the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle* (1841-48). All Quaker periodicals both in America and in the British Isles carried some account of it. Walter Edgerton's *History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends . . .* (Cincinnati, 1856) is a contemporary account by the Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. Though biased, it contains most of the documents and recriminatory tracts issued by both sides. A secondary account is given in Ruth Anna Ketring, *Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement*, Ohio Historical Collections, Vol. VII (Columbus: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1937), pp. 50-84.

Walter Edgerton (1806-1879) was born in eastern Ohio, and moved to Indiana during his childhood. He was one of the leading radicals in Indiana Yearly Meeting. In later years he was disowned for issuing a pamphlet, *Ancient and Modern Quakerism*, which dwelt on the inconsistency of practice with doctrines. Edgerton then joined the Progressive Friends.

⁸ The situation of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends was similar to that of an insurgent government which cannot obtain diplomatic recognition. Other yearly meetings refused to receive documents or communications from the Anti-Slavery Friends; hence the latter had no opportunity even to present their arguments.

tion of organizing arose, it was determined to leave that to local units.⁹

While Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends existed as an organized body, they gave much attention to the free labor principle. Each yearly meeting received full reports on the subject from all subordinate meetings. Even so, they were beset by many difficulties and found it necessary each year to appoint special committees to deal with offenders. In 1847 they issued an "Epistle to all those who desire the abolition of Slavery, wherever located." In 1849 the boycott of slave labor products was made a required article of discipline, in a more determined effort to remedy individual shortcomings.¹⁰ These Anti-Slavery Friends were the only organized body of Quakers who ever so recognized the free labor principle. Despite all these measures, "deficiencies" in the boycott were reported each year. These led in 1853 and again in 1855 to an "Epistle of Advice to Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, and Friends Individually."¹¹

Friends of the Hicksite branch in the Philadelphia area attempted with some success to reach a compromise which would please all. When the yearly meeting in 1837 saw fit to take no action on the slavery question, those most interested formed the Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour, with a particular view to drawing in those who felt it wrong to join "mixed" societies. Although this was not wholly successful in satisfying the most radical, yet the society continued active for at least fifteen years. This Hicksite organization was not strictly a free produce association, but in 1838 it published *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Propriety of Abstaining from the Use of the Produce of Slave Labour*, which urged Friends to investigate the question and consider whether it must not inevitably become a part of their testi-

⁹ Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, Newport, Ind., Oct. 30, 1845 (G. W. Taylor MSS); *Friends' Review*, IV, 89 f. (Oct. 26, 1850).

¹⁰ Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, Minutes (MS) (1849), p. 247. The revised Query read as follows: "Are Friends careful to bear a faithful testimony against Slavery, avoiding the practice of giving their suffrages, or influence for the elevation of slaveholders or proslavery men to public offices, and carefully endeavoring to abstain from the productions of the unpaid toil of the Slave, and do they likewise bear a faithful testimony against all other prize goods?"

¹¹ Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, Minutes (MS) (1853), pp. 317-321; (1855), pp. 341, 342, 346.

mony against slavery. Another tract, *An Appeal to Females of the North, on the Subject of Slavery*, by a "Female of Vermont," was issued the same year, while in 1840 the Association's Committee on Required Labor addressed members on the boycott principle. In 1843 the Society appealed to Friends generally and also adverted to dissensions over the matter of joining "mixed" societies.¹²

The report for 1847 reviewed the Association's decade of existence, dwelt earnestly on the subject of free produce, mentioned memorials sent to Congress, and recorded the maintenance of a school for colored women. The report for 1849 explained that "We have not been unmindful of the subject of Free Produce, although few opportunities for action in relation to it have presented themselves." During the next two years they admitted "no active measures" in the matter, but continued to stress its importance.¹³

Orthodox Friends as such formed their first free produce association in 1845. A year earlier Samuel Rhoads issued a tract entitled *Considerations on the Use of the Productions of Slavery, Addressed to the Religious Society of Friends*. He prefaced his argument by observing that

. . . as a body, the Society has not yet adopted abstinence from the produce of slave labor as one of its testimonies.

Believing that the *principles* of the Society, faithfully and consistently carried out, would lead to this abstinence, the compiler has felt constrained to offer the following . . . to the calm, serious, and unprejudiced attention of his fellow-members.

He reviewed all the arguments from the time of Woolman onward and adverted to the hostility of the conservative faction in the following manner:

¹² The Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Color, *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends on the Propriety of Abstaining from the Use of the Produce of Slave Labour* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 3-11; ———, *An Appeal to the Females of the North, on the Subject of Slavery*. By a Female of Vermont . . . , republished by the Association . . . (Philadelphia, 1838), p. 7; ———, *An Address to the Members of the Society of Friends* . . . (Philadelphia, 1843), pp. 3-12; *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Sept. 17, 1840. Charter members totaled 121.

¹³ Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Color, *Annual Report* . . . (Philadelphia, 1849), pp. 6 f.; *Annual Report* . . . for the Year 1850, pp. 14-18; *Annual Report* . . . for the Year 1851, p. 4.

We are told that we shall have no reward for attempting *to do good in our own wills*: and it is most uncharitably assumed that those who are labouring in this cause are so doing. Would it not be well to inquire what our reward will be for persisting *to do evil in our own wills*. . . .¹⁴

With this impetus a few Philadelphia Friends met on April 24, 1845, considered the subject again, "Proposed to form an association within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for the special purpose of promoting and encouraging the production, by free labour, of the articles which are generally procured from servile hands," appointed a committee to prepare a constitution, and issued a call to Friends generally to meet on June 20, 1845. Thirty responded and organized the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Another meeting was held on September 19, when the constitution was further considered and organization was completed. The constitution provided that membership was to be confined to the Society of Friends, that meetings should be annual, that officers were to be a secretary, treasurer, and board of managers, that the association should procure information toward obtaining a supply of free labor goods and should correspond with other such associations, and that a fund should be raised by contributions and by loans without interest to purchase and manufacture free labor cotton.¹⁵ The first officers were: Secretary, George W. Taylor; Treasurer, Samuel Alsop; Managers, Enoch Lewis, Abraham L. Pennock, Edward Garrett, Samuel Rhoads, Elihu Pickering, Israel H. Johnson, Samuel Allinson, and Thomas Wistar, Jr.¹⁶ The Board of Managers immediately set about their duties as detailed in the constitution.

The first annual meeting of the Association was held on April 21, 1846, at Clarkson Hall, while Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was

¹⁴ Samuel Rhoads, *Considerations on the Use of the Productions of Slavery, Addressed to the Religious Society of Friends* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1845), pp. 2, 27. Conservatives believed that those Friends who were most active in the anti-slavery cause had not waited for divine guidance.

¹⁵ Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, *Circular to Our Fellow Members of the Religious Society of Friends* (Philadelphia, Sept. 3, 1845), a broadside; *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 6-10 (Jan., 1846). The constitution was also published in the *Free Labor Advocate*, Oct. 11, 1845. Henceforth citation will be: Philadelphia Free Produce Association, the name as adopted in 1848.

¹⁶ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers (MS), Sept. 20, 1845, p. 1.

in session. A large audience attended the proceedings, which were dominated by the report of the Board of Managers. Although only seven months had elapsed since operations actually got under way, the Managers had wide activities to report. They had concentrated on means of obtaining free labor cotton and felt assured of a reliable supply in the future. The manufacture of 10,000 yards of cloth had been contracted for, and some progress had been made in finding supplies of other free labor products. They looked forward to the early establishment of a free produce store. An address entitled *On the Duty of Abstaining from the Productions of Slave Labour, Especially in Reference to the Destruction of Human Life Which Slavery Occasions* had been prepared and five thousand copies circulated.¹⁷

When the second annual meeting occurred on April 20, 1847, the prospect looked encouraging. New free produce associations had been formed in various parts of the country, and several stores were in operation. The demand for free labor cotton goods exceeded the supply. Some 60,000 yards of cloth had been manufactured, and sales thereof during the year had amounted to about \$5,500. It was determined to hold meetings of the Association more frequently; hence the next meeting was set for June 11, 1847. Because of insufficient announcement attendance was small, but members went away "edified and refreshed."¹⁸

One of the chief activities during 1847 was the employment of an agent to facilitate and increase the supply of free labor cotton. Progress was also reported in the search for such other products as rice and sugar. Because suspicion among customers was hampering the sale of free labor goods, the Association gave repeated assurances that its goods were absolutely untouched by slave labor. The constitution was amended to provide for semiannual meetings, the first of which was set for October 16, 1847.¹⁹

On March 17, 1848, the Managers authorized a change of name to the Philadelphia Free Produce Association of Friends.²⁰ During

¹⁷ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, pp. 37-47; *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 64-68 (April, 1846).

¹⁸ *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 96-101, 222 (May, Oct., 1847).

¹⁹ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, May 17, 1847, pp. 68 ff. These minutes do not contain, for the most part, the reports of the Board to the annual and semiannual meetings. *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 7, July, 1847; III, 75 ff., 238, April, Oct., 1848; *Friends Review*, I, 531 ff., May 13, 1848.

²⁰ Minutes of the Board of Managers, March 20, 1848, p. 78.

1848 an agent was again employed to procure cotton. Manufacture of cotton cloth increased in quantity and improved in quality. As to the free produce cause, the Managers were "led to believe that Friends in many places within the limit of the five Northern Yearly Meetings are more and more awaking to the conviction that this testimony must be taken up and faithfully borne." The question of slavery as a whole, however, was gloomily viewed, since the Mexican War and the trend of public agitation appeared to Friends to show a decided pro-slavery tendency.²¹

Attendance at the annual meetings both in 1849 and 1850 declined because of conservative disapproval. While annual meetings were always held during yearly meeting week, it was never possible to hold them in the same building, nor could public notice be given in yearly meeting sessions. In October, 1848, the Board of Managers had turned over most of its business transactions to George W. Taylor, who had since 1847 been operating the free produce store in Philadelphia. Committee management in the procuring and manufacture of cotton and other free labor goods had not proved entirely satisfactory; hence it was considered best to place the responsibility upon a single individual.²² Henceforth the Managers confined their activities to "the advocacy of the principles of our cause, and the collection of useful information upon the subject. . . ." In pursuance thereof they had "prepared and circulated an *Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends on the Subject of Slavery and the Slave Trade*." The procurement and manufacture of cotton were proceeding as formerly, and the establishment of new societies showed progress in the cause. Four Friends' boarding schools were now regularly supplied with free labor groceries, and some sheeting was being manufactured for Haverford dormitories.²³

The Compromise of 1850 and the accompanying violent agitation of the slavery question were heavy blows to the abolition cause. No report of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association for 1851 appears to have survived. The meeting was held on April 22, but the *Non-Slaveholder* had suspended publication in December,

²¹ *Non-Slaveholder*, IV, 97 ff., 106 (May, 1849).

²² Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Oct. 9, 1848, p. 80.

²³ *Non-Slaveholder*, V, 97 f., 103 (May, 1850). The schools were Moses Brown (R. I.), Nine Partners (N. Y.), Haverford and Westtown (Pa.).

1850, and the sympathetic *Friends' Review* carried only the briefest notice of the meeting.²⁴

By 1852 the paralyzing effects of the Compromise had begun to disappear and the Philadelphia Free Produce Association, while confessing that its "efforts . . . have not been productive of any very obvious results," still expressed the "confiding hope, that they may compose one of those little rills which, widening and deepening . . . will . . . compose a river which shall sweep away this . . . frowning monument of . . . barbarism. . . ."²⁵ The report of 1853 reverted to a detailed explanation of the difficulties in obtaining free labor goods.²⁶ The numbers of those supporting the free labor principle seemed in 1854 to be increasing, but the difficulties of supplying cotton cloth were also growing. Hence it was proposed to establish a small manufacturing plant to be supervised by George W. Taylor, provided friends of the cause would subscribe fifteen thousand dollars to finance it.²⁷ During 1853 and 1854 the *Non-Slaveholder* was revived and published in smaller form and at a cheaper price. There appears to be no record of any meeting in 1855, though it is probable that one was held. A meeting was announced for April 22, 1856, but there is no further report.²⁸

During 1854 and 1855 efforts were initiated to rejuvenate the free produce movement. As early as 1853 Henry Miles of Monkton, Vermont, proposed the forming of a national association at both the New York and Philadelphia meetings. The idea did not make much progress until Elihu Burritt took hold of it in 1855.²⁹ He was joined by others of the faithful in Philadelphia and New York, and in January, 1856, their campaign got under

²⁴ *Friends' Review*, IV, 553 (May 17, 1851).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 555 (May 15, 1852).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 634 f. (June 18, 1853).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 533 f. (May 6, 1854); *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 47 f. (May, 1854).

²⁸ *Friends' Review*, IX, 506 (April 19, 1856).

²⁹ Henry Miles to Edmund Fry, Nov. 16, 1853 (Henry Miles MSS). For further comment on Miles see pp. 46 f., *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, I, 29 (Feb., 1855). Elihu Burritt (Dec. 8, 1810-March 6, 1879), "the learned Blacksmith," was born in New Britain, Conn., received a meager education, and after the death of his father learned blacksmithing. His eager mind and great gift for languages enabled him to master a vast amount of knowledge. He soon became interested in all kinds of reforms and worked for them alternately with his trade by which he supported himself. "Ocean Penny Postage," peace, and slavery were the questions to which he gave greatest attention (Elihu Burritt, *The Learned Blacksmith: The Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt*, ed. Merle Curti, New York, 1937, *passim*).

way. Its chief features were the organization of a society on a broader basis, energetic efforts to increase the supply of free labor produce by offering premiums, and an attempt to prove to Southerners that free labor would be more economical. The first was carried into effect on February 15, 1856, when the North American Free Labor Produce Association was formed. In an effort to widen the base, membership was open to anyone who would pay annual dues of at least one dollar. Some non-Quakers apparently participated, and a vigorous beginning was made. Burritt, like Benjamin Lundy, was a tireless reformer. He was an energetic organizer and could rouse enthusiasm in others, but his staying power was not always great. At any moment he might become absorbed in another of the various reforms which he sponsored. A president and other officers were elected and the constitution was adopted on April 14, 1856. Soon an explanatory circular was issued, and the first annual meeting was set for the following October. In August the organization was still waiting for funds. The October meeting was not held, and apathy killed the whole effort.³⁰

While Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) completely ignored the free produce issue,³¹ the situation in New York Yearly Meeting was different. The general subject of slavery came before the Orthodox yearly meeting in 1837, when Scipio Quarterly Meeting brought it up and a special committee was appointed by the yearly meeting to survey the question. In 1838 the whole situa-

³⁰ *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, II, 11, 16, 45, 57, 72-75, 92 f., 122 (Jan.-Aug., 1856).

³¹ The closest Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) came to an official pronouncement on the subject was in the "Minute on Slavery" issued by the Meeting for Sufferings in 1839, which declared: "The close connexion and intimate intercourse which is maintained between the different sections of our common country, through the diversified and widely spread channels of commerce and business, may, unless we are very watchful, blunt our sensibilities to the cruelties of slavery, and diminish our abhorrence of its injustice. We wish tenderly to incite our dear friends to an individual inquiry, . . . how far they are clear in these respects; and should such an examination awaken serious apprehensions as to any part of their traffic, that they may be willing to forego every prospect of gain, arising from the prosecution of business, which is incompatible with the purity of our religious profession" (*Minute on Slavery*, a broadside, reprinted from the Minutes, April 15-19, 1839). Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) in 1838 considered revising the annual query on slavery to include questioning on the use of slave labor produce, but decided against the change (*Friends' Intelligencer*, I, 33, May 1, 1838).

tion was thoroughly canvassed and the committee was continued. The next year they reported that

the Yearly Meeting recommended to our members, to embrace every right opening to maintain and exalt our righteous testimony against Slavery; and where any of our members feel any religious scruples as to the use of the products of slave labor, that they faithfully attend thereto. . . .³²

Free labor sentiment was especially strong in Farmington Quarterly Meeting, which in 1842 addressed its monthly meetings and members generally on the subject. It urged all "to adhere singly to their duty" in avoiding "the fruit of slavery . . . though we may have to pay a higher price. . . . The sacrifice we may thus have to make . . . will . . . bring a blessing greater than that of the increase of earthly treasure." This address was much used in later advocacy of the cause. Further attention was given the subject the next year, when the women's meeting made a lengthy report. In later years the subject was adverted to, both by the Orthodox and Hicksite branches, but never so forcefully as in 1842.³³

The radical element in New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) actively entered the cause simultaneously with the Philadelphia group. At the yearly meeting session in 1845 the Meeting for Sufferings produced an "Essay" on the "subject of freely using and trading in articles produced by the labor of slaves . . ." and concluded that "If . . . *it is the market for Slave produce which makes Slavery*, we must feel that it is a serious matter to be customers in this market."³⁴ Thereupon the Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting was formed, almost identical in organization with the Philadelphia society. The first annual meeting on May 27, 1846, was publicly announced in yearly meeting session

³² New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Address of Scipio Quarterly Meeting [Cayuga Co.] on the Subject of Slavery, to Its Members* (Skaneateles, N. Y. [1837]), p. 11; *Friends' Intelligencer*, I, 33, 65 (May 1, June 1, 1838); *Pennsylvania Freeman*, June 7, 1838.

³³ New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Address of Farmington Quarterly Meeting to the Monthly Meetings Constituting It, and to the Members of the Same Generally* (Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1850), pp. 1-8. (This was a republication by the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting.) New York Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), *Minutes*, May 24, 1851, pp. 9 f., June 2, 1854, pp. 12 f.; *Friends' Review*, VII, 683 (July 8, 1854).

³⁴ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 17, 23 (Feb., 1846). The entire "Essay" is printed in the *Friends' Review*, III, 237-240 (Dec. 29, 1849).

and so had a large attendance. The Board of Managers had held six meetings during the year, and had been chiefly engaged in searching for supplies of free labor products. Their report dwelt on the need for a large adherence to the free produce principle in order to bring a supply of goods onto the market at reasonable prices. The constitution had been printed and circulated. Only small progress had been made in raising funds to open a store.³⁵

The meeting of 1847 was endorsed by several prominent members of the yearly meeting. Efforts were concentrated on raising additional funds for the opening of a store. During the next year this project got under way and was announced at the large annual meeting of 1848. Within the yearly meeting itself two special sessions on slavery and "the disuse of slave produce" were held, and the Meeting for Sufferings issued another minute.³⁶

The report of 1849 opened with the lament "that little progress had been made. . . ." George Wood and Lindley M. Hoag asked to be relieved of the free produce store which up to August, 1848, had netted them nothing but trouble and losses. The business was transferred to Robert Lindley Murray at a loss of 25 per cent on the capital investment. As a means of promoting information on the free produce cause the Managers had subscribed to fifty copies of the *Non-Slaveholder*. The greatest need of the Association was additional funds.³⁷

This continued to be the case in 1850, when the Managers were chagrined to report that only eighty-five dollars had been contributed that year. Neither was the store prospering; indeed, suspension seemed likely unless patronage increased. The printing of a series of free labor tracts, in co-operation with the Ohio association, was contemplated but not yet undertaken.³⁸

³⁵ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 97 (July, 1846); Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, [Address] To the Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, New York City, June 30, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

³⁶ *Non-Slaveholder*, III, 128, 149 f. (June, July, 1848); *Friends' Review*, I, 548 f. (May 20, 1848). The report for 1847 was not published (L. B. Parsons to G. W. Taylor, Flushing, N. Y., Aug. 5, 1847, G. W. Taylor MSS). At the yearly meeting \$550 was raised, and local committees were appointed to continue the work of raising funds.

³⁷ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers . . . Adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Association, Held Fifth Month, 29, 1849* (New York, 1849), pp. 1-8.

³⁸ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers . . . Adopted at the Annual Meeting of*

The situation of the society continued to be equally gloomy throughout 1851; the store did not prosper and deliveries of free labor cotton to Liverpool did not come up to expectations. The Managers felt, however, that the free labor cause as a whole was advancing. The work in England was being pressed with vigor, and the culture of cotton by free labor appeared to be expanding in various parts of the world.³⁹ To assist the store a broadside appeal reviewing once more the free labor cause and urging Friends to patronize the free labor store was published, while the yearly meeting itself again recommended the subject to general attention.⁴⁰

This appeal did no good, however, and so in February, 1852, R. L. Murray informed the Managers that he could not continue the store. It was taken over by his foreman, Ezra Towne, who combined a general grocery business with the free labor enterprise which he undertook to maintain. The Managers supplied two thousand dollars in capital to help finance the free produce branch of the business. During this year the Managers issued a tract entitled *Slavery and the Slave Trade—Who Is Responsible*, which they hoped was "doing a silent work of good."⁴¹

While the free labor movement, wrote the Managers in 1853, seems "to be gaining strength and courage, not only abroad, but in distant sections of our own country; it is painful and humiliating to be obliged to chronicle among ourselves, an apparent decline of interest in this deeply interesting and important cause." The store continued to operate, but additional difficulties in obtaining goods were experienced. As in each previous report, the Managers reviewed possible sources of cotton supply and adverted to the Association's responsibility in furnishing it to spinners and weavers.⁴²

During 1854 the Managers helped to sustain the *Non-Slave-*

the Association, Held Fifth Month, 28th, 1850 (New York, 1850), pp. 1-12. This report also contains the constitution and a list of members totaling 88.

³⁹ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers . . . Adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Association, Held Fifth Month, 27th, 1851* (New York, 1851), pp. 1-6.

⁴⁰ Free Produce Association of Friends of New-York Yearly Meeting, [circular addressed to members, New York, 1851, a broadside]; New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Minutes*, May 28, 30, 1851, pp. 9, 21.

⁴¹ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers . . .* (New York, 1852), pp. 1-12. The tract referred to has not been seen by the writer.

⁴² Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers . . .* (New York, 1853), pp. 1-8.

holder by subscribing for fifty copies. The free produce store was slightly more prosperous, and an effort to raise a "Guarantee Fund, for facilitating the shipment of Free Labor Cotton to England" netted \$145.00.⁴³ The yearly meeting again gave attention to the movement when at the instance of Westbury Quarterly Meeting, a statement setting forth the official attitude was prepared and sent to all subordinate meetings.⁴⁴ The report of 1855 was presented "under feelings of more than usual discouragement. . . ." The "Guarantee Fund" had amounted only to half the needed sum, and "the same sad apathy continued. . . ." The Managers had issued a new tract, and the store continued in its usual manner.⁴⁵ On this gloomy note the records of the New York Free Produce Association cease forever. While the organization may have lived a year or two longer, it is unlikely that any more reports were published. The New York society was never so strong as that in Philadelphia, and in fact acted more as an auxiliary. Even so it was second in importance in the East.⁴⁶

Out in western New York a small group of Hicksite Friends were active in the free produce cause as early as 1831. Then or later they formed the Western New York Free Produce Association. Its history is unknown except for the fact that it existed in 1842. At that time its leaders proposed to publish the *Friend of Freedom, and Free Labor Advocate*. This journal was probably issued, for a short time at least, under the supervision of Levi Taft and Lorenzo Mabbett. In 1845 Mabbett issued the following prospectus for the *Champion of Freedom*:

A Monthly sheet, devoted to the FREE PRODUCE enterprise, and Industrial Association, is again to be resumed. . . . It should be borne in mind, that *this periodical is the first, and (as yet) the only one in the world whose main feature is the application of the abstinence principle to the products of slave labor.*

LORENZO MABBETT

⁴³ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers* . . . (New York, 1854), pp. 1-8.

⁴⁴ New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Minutes* (1854), pp. 12 f., 17 f.; *Friends' Review*, VII, 683 (July 8, 1854).

⁴⁵ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers* . . . (New York, 1855), pp. 1-8.

⁴⁶ In 1856 George W. Taylor wrote, "I reluctantly give up all hope of aid . . . from the New York Friends, who so strongly recommend the subject [of free produce] from year to year . . ." (G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, July 16, 1856, Taylor Letterbooks, II, 314).

Lorenzo Mabbett was one of the most active abolitionists among radical Quakers. Wherever he went, a free produce society was sure to appear. His earlier activities centered around Sodus Bay. About 1848 he moved farther west, to Collins Center, New York, where he organized the Free Produce Association of Collins and Its Vicinity. This society was active for at least the next three years in raising funds, supporting the *Non-Slaveholder*, and obtaining a supply of free labor goods.⁴⁷

Before turning to the West, it may be well to survey the remaining minor and local free produce societies in the East. In New England the movement did not get under way until 1848. A "very numerous meeting of Friends" was held on June 14 of that year in Newport, Rhode Island, at which the whole cause was opened up and thoroughly discussed. In place of a formal organization, committees in each quarterly and monthly meeting were appointed to advance the cause in their own localities, canvass the demand for free labor goods, and see that such goods were available for sale in suitable places.⁴⁸ At the meeting in 1849 considerable progress was reported in supplying free labor goods to stores in several towns. The committee system of operation was continued for another year. Faith in the cause was renewed at the meeting of June 18, 1850, when visiting Friends from Philadelphia and New York reviewed all the arguments for abstinence. The committee arrangement was continued, and the meeting "after a free and harmonious expression of sentiment," adjourned to convene the next year.⁴⁹ A large audience in 1851 heard reports from all the local committees, showing "that exertions have been made to some extent" in promoting the free labor cause. The committees in 1852 reported ten localities scattered throughout the yearly meeting area where free labor dry goods and groceries could be obtained.

⁴⁷ *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), Nov. 17, 1842, March 6, Aug. 7, 1845; Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, *Poetical Works . . . with a Memoir of Her Life and Character*, by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia, 1836), p. 40; Lorenzo Mabbett to G. W. Taylor, Collins Center, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1848 (G. W. Taylor MSS); *Non-Slaveholder*, V, 77 f. (April, 1850). The radicals in this area broke away in 1848 and formed North Collins Yearly Meeting, affiliated with the Progressive Friends.

⁴⁸ *Free Labor Advocate*, July 14, 1848; *British Friend* (Glasgow), VI (Aug. 31, 1848); *Non-Slaveholder*, III, 172 f. (Aug., 1848).

⁴⁹ *Non-Slaveholder*, IV, 193 f. (Sept., 1849); *Friends' Review*, III, 714 f. (July 27, 1850); Free Produce Association of Friends of New England Yearly Meeting, *Free Produce Meeting* (Newport, R. I., June 18, 1850, a broadside).

The meeting of that year adopted a pledge obligating those who signed it to promote the use of free labor goods "by providing, when they can be obtained, such articles for ourselves and the consumption of our families; and by encouraging their use by others."⁵⁰

There were at least two local free produce societies in New England. The first of these, the Free Produce Association of Western Vermont, was chiefly the work of one man, Henry Miles. As an active abolitionist he wrote voluminously for the local newspapers on many phases of the slavery question. He was secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society of Ferrisburgh and Vicinity, formed in 1835.⁵¹ In 1839 he, as chairman of a committee of Friends, was asking, "Do not we . . . virtually give . . . our support to the slaveholder . . . as often as we use or deal in the product of the unpaid toil of the slave?" Miles was ever anxious to work in the free produce cause, but being isolated in the Vermont countryside with only a small number of other Quakers, he was considerably handicapped. In 1846 he made a journey to Virginia to investigate possible sources of free labor products. In 1853 he attended the meeting of the New York Free Produce Association, and in 1854 he was anxious to go to Texas as agent of the Philadelphia association. Henry Miles, more than anyone else, was responsible for the idea of a national free produce movement, which was embodied in Elihu Burritt's North American Free Labor Produce Association.⁵²

⁵⁰ Free Produce Association of Friends of New England Yearly Meeting, [*Minutes*], June 16, 1851 (a broadside); Minutes of Free Produce Meeting 6 mo 17. 1852 at Newport (MS); [*Pledge*], June 17, 1852 (a broadside).

⁵¹ Henry Miles (1795-June 9, 1885) was born in Kent County, England, and became a member of the Society of Friends in 1816. He was married in 1818 to Mary Hagen, and in 1832 they with their seven children came to America. After a short residence in Montreal the family settled in Addison County, Vt., where they engaged in farming. Miles had extensive scientific interests, especially in the field of geology. He was also much concerned with education and various social reforms, while at the same time he wrote extensively on doctrinal questions and Biblical interpretation (Henry Miles MSS, *passim*; *Friends' Review*, XXXVIII, 745, June 27, 1885; Hamilton Child, comp., *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Addison County, Vt., for 1881-82*, Syracuse, N. Y., 1882, p. 160).

⁵² Minutes of Ferrisburgh Monthly Meeting, May, 1839; Henry Miles to Elihu Burritt, Nov. 4, 1846; Henry Miles to G. C. Sampson, June 11, 1853; Henry Miles to Edmund Fry, Nov. 16, 1853; Henry Miles to George W. Taylor, Aug. 3, Dec. 10, 1854; Henry Miles to Levi Coffin, Feb. 1, 1855 (Henry Miles MSS). Most of the Henry Miles manuscripts are at Harvard College Library; a fragment is at Duke University Library. Those at Harvard consist largely of articles and essays on a variety of subjects. This material is fragmentary and most of it is undated, making it very difficult to

Certainly Miles was responsible for the Free Produce Association of Friends in Ferrisburgh Monthly Meeting. Unfortunately his draft of the constitution of this society bears no date, but it was almost certainly founded between 1845 and 1853. No other records have survived. About 1854 it was presumably expanded into the Free Produce Association of Western Vermont. At the end of a year this society still had no board of managers; hence Miles took upon himself the writing of the first annual report, which was a polemic on slavery in general and a discussion of the free produce movement in particular. It closed with an appeal to form a national free produce association which should raise money, send out lecturers and tracts, form local associations, enlist the women, and appeal to nonslaveholding planters.⁵³ Here ends the free produce record in Vermont. In 1855 there existed a Free Labor Association at Manchester, Maine, whose members were "very earnest and active in the movement" and were "doing much to enlighten the public mind. . . ." Their activities beyond 1857 are unrecorded.⁵⁴

The most unexpected appearance of free produce activity came in 1849 at North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Enoch Lewis, who was present, gave an account of the circumstance: ". . . before the meeting actually adjourned, some of their own members made a proposal, that a meeting should be held to consider the subject of the use of Free Produce." Two meetings in fact were held, at both of which Enoch Lewis and others spoke in behalf of the free produce cause. Much interest was aroused, and committees were appointed in the monthly meetings to correspond with each other on the means of obtaining free labor produce. They adjourned to meet the next year, but whether they did is unrecorded.⁵⁵ In any case the excitement of the Compromise debates resulted in the following advice in 1851: ". . . it is our duty to be a law-abiding people, and in no wise improperly to interfere in the relation between master and slave, or with any of the commotions or excitements of

use. Some letters are dated. *Voice of Freedom* (Montpelier, Vt.), May 18, 25, June 29, 1839, Feb. 29, 1840.

⁵³ [Free Produce Association of Western Vermont,] First Annual Report (Henry Miles MSS, Duke University). Internal evidence indicates the date as 1855. The entire document is in Henry Miles's handwriting.

⁵⁴ *Friends' Review*, IX, 90-92 (Oct. 20, 1855); *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, II, 45 (March, 1856).

⁵⁵ *Non-Slaveholder*, IV, 271 f. (Dec., 1849); *Friends' Review*, III, 183 (Dec. 8, 1849).

the day arising therefrom. . . ." But the subject was not forgotten, at least not by New Garden Quarterly Meeting, which announced that

. . . this meeting was brought into deep feeling on the subject of Friends using the products of Slave labour, and after a time of weighty deliberation thereon, it was thought best to lay the subject before the Yearly Meeting for its consideration.

This led to "a free expression of sentiment thereon," but the subject was deferred until next yearly meeting for further consideration.⁵⁶ When the subject came up in 1852, it was fully discussed and "it was with much unanimity agreed that the meeting could not take any action on the subject; yet Friends were encouraged to attend, in their individual capacity, to what may appear to be required of them."⁵⁷ This apparently brought to an end the free produce movement among North Carolina Friends.

In the West the free produce movement was more vociferous but smaller in accomplishment. In general it got under way a little earlier in the West than in the East. On September 6, 1842, the Marion County Free Produce Association was formed at Whetstone, Ohio. The brief constitution pledged members to abstain as much as possible from the use of slave labor products and not to be deterred by pecuniary considerations. Membership was not restricted to the Society of Friends. C. K. Lindley, a merchant at Mount Gilead, undertook to keep a stock of free labor goods.⁵⁸

In Wayne County, Indiana, the movement got under way even earlier. The large Quaker population, many of them radicals, was responsible for the activity in this area. Indiana Yearly Meeting itself took some action in 1840, when its Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color investigated the means of obtaining free labor goods. Their report, made in 1841, was staunchly backed by New Garden Quarterly Meeting, which added its own strong appeal on the need for abstinence and for making it a required testimony.⁵⁹ The first District Convention of Indiana Abolitionists, held near Economy (Wayne County) on November 10 and 11,

⁵⁶ *Friends' Review*, V, 195 f. (Dec. 13, 1851).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 153 f. (Nov. 20, 1852).

⁵⁸ *Free Labor Advocate*, Nov. 5, 1842. One of the officers was Daniel Osborn, a son of Charles Osborn. How long this society continued active is not recorded.

⁵⁹ Walter Edgerton, *History of the Separation*, pp. 43-47. New Garden Quarterly Meeting contained a large proportion of radicals.

1840, passed a resolution endorsing free labor and recommending that merchants "supply us with goods of that description, as far as practicable." As dissension increased between conservative and radical Friends on how far they should go in the anti-slavery movement, the radicals made a compromise move by offering to form an anti-slavery society limited to Quakers. To this end they held a convention at Newport, Indiana, on January 11, 1841, where the subject of free produce "was very fully considered," the principle was endorsed, and its adoption urged. As a concession by the radicals, however, the meeting was not a success. Nothing daunted, they held a second convention on September 14, 1841, at Spiceland, Indiana, and projected a larger gathering for yearly meeting week. That was cut short by the hostile conservatives in Indiana Yearly Meeting, who hastily clamped down on any such willful notions. The radicals waited a few months and held their convention on January 22, 1842, at Newport. Here sixty-five Friends, assembled in the Methodist church, organized the Wayne County Free Produce Association. They undertook to boycott slave labor products, to induce merchants to provide free labor goods, and not to be deterred by "pecuniary considerations."⁶⁰ Among the officers were Benjamin Stanton and Henry H. Way, the two editors of the *Free Labor Advocate*, Levi Coffin, Jonathan Unthank, Jacob Grave, and other prominent radicals who led in the formation of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. In April, 1842, the society took the first steps toward establishing a mercantile firm to supply free labor goods throughout the West.⁶¹

With the same nucleus of leaders, but on a somewhat broader basis, the Western Free Produce Association was organized at a Friends' meetinghouse in Union County, Indiana, on February 14, 1842. Actual operations were postponed until local meetings could further discuss all angles. Officers of all anti-slavery societies throughout Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa were asked to hold meetings for discussion of the free labor principle.⁶²

The first efforts to obtain a supply of free labor goods were hampered by the serious business depression of 1842, but enthusiastic

⁶⁰ *Protectionist*, I, 7 ff., 58 (Jan. 1, Feb. 16, 1841); *Free Labor Advocate*, I, 16 (Feb. 8, 1841), March 2, 1842.

⁶¹ *Free Labor Advocate*, I, 207, 368, 379 (Aug. 9, 1841, Jan. 8, 27, April 30, 1842).

⁶² *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1842; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, June 30, Nov. 17, 1842.

Westerners hoped this difficulty would soon be overcome. Several persons in various localities expected to handle such goods, and all looked forward to the time when a wholesale store in Cincinnati would supply the whole region.

The first annual convention of the Western Free Produce Association was held at Green Plain (Clark County, Ohio), on August 8, 1842. It was a large and enthusiastic assemblage. Reporting it, Aaron L. Benedict wrote:

Ministers of various denominations, lawyers, judges, and statesmen, were present, and gave their hearty sanction to our principles and measures. At this meeting a resolution was passed, making the "Western Free Produce Society" auxiliary to the American; and the executive committee was directed to appoint delegates to attend the anniversary of the latter. . . . A committee was appointed to devise means for establishing a wholesale free-labor store in Cincinnati. It is proposed to be done by joint stock investments. Hon. Thomas Morris offered to invest his whole capital in such an establishment.

It was believed that the American Free Produce Association could supply the goods needed, thereby relieving the infant Western association of the burdens of manufacturing. A committee was appointed to raise funds, while the executive committee urged the formation of auxiliary societies in each county.⁶³

The second anniversary meeting, on August 25, 1843, at Greensboro, Indiana, had little progress to report. During the year at least one local convention at Salem, Union County, Indiana, had reorganized the Salem Free Produce Association by removing the restriction which limited membership to Quakers.⁶⁴ Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends tried to keep the movement going by scheduling six local conventions. Enthusiasm was on the wane, however, partly because of the difficulty in getting free labor goods, the lack of funds, and the want of experienced leadership. Though

⁶³ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Nov. 18, 1842; *Free Labor Advocate*, Feb. 23, March 2, April 16, Aug. 27, Sept. 3, 1842. Thomas Morris (1776-1844), a self-educated man, settled near Cincinnati in 1795. He was admitted to the bar in 1804, but soon entered politics, serving in the Ohio legislature, 1813-33, and in the U. S. Senate, 1833-39. As Senator he antagonized his colleagues and his constituents by his unyielding abolitionism. Obviously, nothing came of his grandiose offer, mentioned above.

Aaron Lancaster Benedict was a resident of Morrow County, Ohio. He was later a leader in the Alum Creek Free Produce Association.

⁶⁴ *Free Labor Advocate*, Oct. 15, 1842, Dec. 6, 1843, Feb. 2, 1844.

the officers failed to attend the meeting of 1844, the assemblage listened to a member's account of his tour of Alabama, and then renewed their pledge to abstain from the products of slave labor. There was probably no meeting in 1845.⁶⁵

Meanwhile the Salem Free Produce Association, led by William Beard (1788-1873), had kept a spark of life, and in 1846 he took the initiative in calling a convention to meet at Salem, Union County, Indiana, on October 10. At that meeting Henry H. Way "moved that we now proceed to reorganize the Western Free Produce Association." After much discussion the motion was adopted "nearly unanimously." The convention resolved that it was a duty to abstain entirely from slave labor products, that it was necessary to establish a wholesale house in Cincinnati, and that subscriptions should be opened to raise three thousand dollars for that purpose. A year later only four hundred dollars had been raised, and so the meeting of 1847 simply continued activities of the preceding year.⁶⁶

The convention of 1846 had selected Levi Coffin as the proper person to open the wholesale business in Cincinnati. Coffin declined on both financial and personal grounds. But further search revealed no one so well qualified by experience and inclination for the work, and so Coffin yielded and began business at Cincinnati in April, 1847.⁶⁷ During the next year the Executive Committee called three general meetings at various places to raise additional funds, which had already been pledged, to help finance Coffin.⁶⁸ During 1848 he purchased seven thousand dollars worth of cotton goods from the Philadelphia Free Produce Association, besides what he had manufactured locally. Less than half the three thousand dollars was raised and so something else had to be done. Accordingly, a convention was held at Salem, Union County, Indiana, on November 19, 1850, to form a joint stock company. It was incorporated as the Western Manufacturing Company, and books were opened. Unfortunately not enough shares were taken to permit the charter to become operative, and so Coffin struggled on as best he could with his limited capital until 1857, when he sold out the business and returned

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1843, Feb. 22, 1845; Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, Newport, Ind., Oct. 30, 1845 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁶⁶ *Free Labor Advocate*, Aug. 15, Nov. 7, 1846, Nov. 18, 1847; *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 12, 276 (Jan., Dec., 1847).

⁶⁷ Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences*, pp. 265-272; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Sept. 24, 1846.

⁶⁸ *Free Labor Advocate*, March 9, 1848.

to his old home at Newport.⁶⁹ Records of the Western Free Produce Association, incomplete at best, do not go beyond 1848.

While the free produce associations in Indiana and western Ohio were operating in spasmodic attacks of enthusiasm followed by periods of lethargy, friends of the cause in eastern Ohio were pursuing a steadier and more successful course. The first meeting was held at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, on September 11, 1846, when the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting was organized by the adoption of a constitution. Another meeting held on November 21 completed the organization and signed up twenty additional members. The constitution was modeled on that of the Philadelphia association, and membership was limited to the Society of Friends. While the new society was composed chiefly of Orthodox Friends, the Hicksite branch of Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1847 gave official attention to the subject of abstinence and issued "An Address of the Yearly Meeting on Slavery."⁷⁰

Initial activities of the Board of Managers were confined to a search for supplies of free labor goods and to an effort to raise funds. During the next two years "circumstances beyond the control" of either Managers or members prevented any annual meetings. These circumstances were the Wilbur-Gurney controversy, which rent Ohio Friends for the next six years and finally resulted in a separation in 1854. Meanwhile the Board of Managers continued to meet. Their chief accomplishment was the formation on June 6, 1848, of the Mount Pleasant Free Produce Company. To finance it, 250 shares at ten dollars each were sold, and a free produce store was opened at Mount Pleasant a short time later.⁷¹

The first annual meeting of the Association was held on September 4, 1849, when the Managers announced that the store had been in operation more than a year and that the cause was advancing throughout the country. Their optimism was borne out by the acces-

⁶⁹ Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences*, pp. 292-295; *Non-Slaveholder*, IV, 13 f. (Jan., 1849); *Western Friend* (Cincinnati), I, 418 f. (Dec. 7, 1848). The panic of 1857 may have been a deciding influence in Coffin's retirement at this time.

⁷⁰ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 153 (Oct., 1846); Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Minutes of the Board of Managers (MS), Sept. 11, Nov. 21, 1846 [no paging]; Ohio Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), *Minutes*, 1847 . . . (Salem, Ohio, 1847), pp. 11 f.

⁷¹ Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Minutes of the Board of Managers, March 6, 1847, Jan. 29, March 19, 20, June 6, 1848.

sion of thirty-five new members.⁷² During that autumn the Managers turned their attention to the publication of tracts, which was to become their primary activity in later years. The committee to select suitable material presented nine pieces, chiefly articles which had appeared in the *Non-Slaveholder*. Of these, six were chosen for publication. By the spring of 1850 tracts totaling forty-eight pages in editions of one thousand copies were ready for distribution.⁷³ The cost of printing was \$44.30, which had been raised by contributions.

The annual meeting on September 3, 1850, was one of the best ever held by the Association. Over two hundred Friends attended, and a considerable addition to the membership was made. Committees for each monthly meeting were appointed to ascertain the extent of free labor sentiment and the number willing to purchase free labor products, and to report to the annual meeting in 1851. Several visiting Friends renewed enthusiasm by vigorous speeches in behalf of the cause. The Managers reported their issuance of forty-six thousand pages of tracts and explained their as yet unsuccessful efforts to co-operate with the Eastern societies in this phase of the work. They reviewed the status of the free labor cause throughout this country and in Britain as well. Evidences of

⁷² Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 5, 1849. (For the sake of brevity citation will be in this form.) *Non-Slaveholder*, IV, 217 ff. (Oct., 1849).

⁷³ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Oct. 13, Nov. 16, 1849, Feb. 2, Aug. 21, 1850. The tracts published were listed as follows:

[1] Louis Taber, "Considerations on abstinence from the use of the products of slave labor: Addressed to the Members of Ohio Yearly Meeting" (8 pp.)

[2] Enoch Lewis, "Observations on slavery and the slave trade & the methods of extinguishing them" (10 pp.)

[3] "Extracts from the Letters of Nathan Thomas written from the South while acting as the agent of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association of Friends" (12 pp.)

[4] "Address of the Farmington Quarterly Meeting, New York; to the monthly meetings constituting it and to the members of the same generally, combined with the Address of New York Yearly Meeting" (8 pp.)

[5] "Extracts from the Address of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Friends of the Anti-Slavery cause on the disuse of slave labor produce" (4 pp.)

[6] "Stolen goods; or the gains of oppression," by le Mabbett [probably Lorenzo Mabbett] and "A Comparison of stolen goods with slave labor produce, by Elihu Burritt" (4 pp.). The second, third, fourth, and fifth are reprints from the *Non-Slaveholder*.

dissension among Friends on slavery appear throughout this report, but the Managers were convinced that Friends everywhere would soon come to see the duty of abstinence; meanwhile each one should strive to do his "whole duty toward our oppressed fellow-men, so that even those who may look with coldness or indifference upon our exertions, witnessing our sacrifices and sincerity, may be constrained to say, 'let them alone, they have done what they could.'"⁷⁴

During 1851 the Managers corresponded with leaders in other parts of the country and issued two more tracts, the "Plea of Necessity and an original article by E. Cattell." Feeling that the cause was handicapped by the demise of the *Non-Slaveholder* at the end of 1850, the Managers began a movement to revive it and appointed a committee to raise one hundred dollars for that purpose.⁷⁵

At the annual meeting on September 9, 1851, the Managers lamented that they had been "able to accomplish much less . . . than would have been desirable." They had published the report and proceedings of the meeting of 1850 together with the society's constitution in an edition of one thousand copies and were issuing a new edition of the first tract published. They reviewed the general status of the cause and put the question of reviving the *Non-Slaveholder* to the society as a whole, though nothing came of it at this time. Consequently, the Managers made preparations in 1852 to publish a periodical in Ohio to be devoted to the free produce cause, in lieu of the *Non-Slaveholder*. Material was prepared for the first issue and a prospectus issued when the magnitude of the undertaking appeared too great for the available finances, and so the project was suspended but not abandoned. At the annual meeting of 1852 it was thoroughly discussed, and again an effort was launched to raise money.⁷⁶ The autumn was chiefly occupied with

⁷⁴ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 3, Oct. 12, 1850; ———, *Extracts from the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Free Produce Association of Ohio Yearly Meeting. Held 3d of Ninth Month, 1850, with the Report of the Board of Managers. Constitution, &c.* (Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1851), pp. 1-16. This was issued as No. 7 in the series of tracts. *Friends' Review*, IV, 54 (Oct. 12, 1850).

⁷⁵ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Jan. 11, Feb. 8, April 12, Sept. 3, 1851; *The Plea of Necessity* (Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1851), pp. 1-12. There is no further clue to the "original article" by Ezra Cattell.

⁷⁶ Ohio Free Produce Association, *Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers . . . Held 9th of Ninth Month, 1851* (Mount Pleasant, Ohio,

completing negotiations by which the *Non-Slaveholder* was revived in January, 1853, the Ohio association acting as guarantors to the extent of two hundred dollars. The Managers were very active in pushing subscriptions and so far succeeded that the journal paid expenses during 1853.⁷⁷

The annual meeting of 1853 received reports from various localities and continued the local committees for another year. Membership at this time stood at one hundred and fifty. They also continued their support of the *Non-Slaveholder*.⁷⁸ In December, 1853, it was agreed that each member of the Board of Managers should furnish at least two articles a year for that journal, and write at least two letters, with a view to advancing the cause. In January, 1854, twenty dollars were appropriated for publishing tracts, cards, mottoes, one-leaf circulars, and other propaganda. The cards and circulars were distributed in May, and a new edition of two earlier tracts was authorized.⁷⁹

When the annual meeting assembled on September 4, 1854, it was "not without feelings of encouragement, that the labors of our Association have not been in vain, that the Managers again bring forward their annual report." They felt that this year had seen the greatest advancement in the cause yet observed. They were especially heartened by the fact that at "Oberlin Collegiate Institute" the free produce "testimony has been embraced by most of the faculty and students, and will thus be disseminated throughout the land, by the most extensive, earnest, and powerful agency." Henry Miles's and Elihu Burritt's initial efforts in New York to form a national free produce association were a piece of "gratifying intelligence." The latter half of the report was devoted to the gloomy side of the picture—the continued apathy of many Friends, the

1851), pp. 1-8. This report is also in the MS Minutes of the Board of Managers. For some reason this was called the second annual report, although there had been reports in 1849 and 1850. —, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Oct. 12, Nov. 22, 1851, Feb. 7, March 13, July 10, Aug. 14, Sept. 6, 1852; *Friends' Review*, V, 26 (Sept. 27, 1851).

⁷⁷ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 11, Oct. 9, 1852, Jan. 8, Feb. 12, March 12, May 14, June 11, Aug. 13, 1853.

⁷⁸ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 5, 1853; *Non-Slaveholder*, I, N.S., 11, 89 (Feb., Nov., 1853).

⁷⁹ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Oct. 8, Nov. 12, Dec. 12, 1853; Jan. 14, Feb. 10, March 3, May 13, June 10, Aug 12, 1854.

Fugitive Slave Law, and the constant difficulty in procuring free labor goods.⁸⁰

During 1855 the Managers were largely occupied with preparing articles for publication and with promoting subscriptions to *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, which succeeded the now permanently defunct *Non-Slaveholder*. At the annual meeting of September 5, 1855, the Managers continued to be hopeful of a better supply of free labor goods, especially now that George W. Taylor's mill was in operation. In furthering discussion of the free labor cause, they announced that "efforts have been made to enlist the services of several anti-slavery periodicals, whose editors were thought to be favorable to the cause."⁸¹ The Society continued through 1859, but there was little constructive activity. In the latter year the Managers issued "An Address on the Use of Slave-Labor Products." The accounts and daybooks of the Mount Pleasant Free Produce Company continue as late as 1863.

Although the Ohio association was never very successful in building up auxiliary societies, one group deserves brief mention. It was the Alum Creek Free Produce Association, located in Morrow County, Ohio, and formed in 1852 under the leadership of Griffith Levering. It was furnished with tracts and other material by the Ohio association. The old anti-slavery center of Salem, Ohio, was also active in carrying on local work.⁸² In 1859 Indiana and Ohio Yearly Meetings (Orthodox) both recommended that individual members should "attend faithfully" to any scruples they felt about using slave labor products.⁸³

It remains to glance at the farthest Western point which the free produce movement reached. As early as 1841 Friends in Iowa met and organized, on February 6, the Salem Anti-Slavery Society, with thirty members. The matter of free labor was discussed, the

⁸⁰ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 4, 1854; *Non-Slaveholder*, II, N.S., 73-75 (Sept., 1854); *Friends' Review*, VIII, 154 ff. (Nov. 18, 1854).

⁸¹ Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 5, 1855; *Friends' Review*, IX, 90-92 (Oct. 20, 1855).

⁸² Ohio Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 11, 1852, Sept. 5, 1853, Oct. 13, Nov. 11, 1855; *Non-Slaveholder*, I, N.S., 111 (Feb., 1853); *Friends' Review*, XII, 821 ff. (Sept. 3, 1859). Griffith Levering (1818-1873) was a native of Maryland, where he first took part in anti-slavery work.

⁸³ Ohio Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Minutes* (1859), p. 8; *Friends' Review*, XIII, 88 (Oct. 15, 1859).

annual report of the American Free Produce Association was read, and the whole subject was turned over to the executive committee for further attention. Late in 1846 a free produce society was formed, but it was probably short-lived. The subject came up again when, on March 29, 1850, those interested assembled in the Friends' meetinghouse at Salem (Henry County), Iowa, to consider "what practical measures" they could adopt "to encourage the use of free products." They passed resolutions endorsing abstinence and appointed a committee "to procure the names of those who are willing to pledge themselves to patronize a free labor store. . . ." A store was opened in 1850, and in 1861 a store existed, but whether it was the same establishment in continuous operation, is doubtful.⁸⁴

Finally some mention of the free produce movement in Great Britain is requisite.⁸⁵ Though the evidence is very sketchy, it appears that some of the British societies working during the 1820's for emancipation in the British colonies, endorsed the boycott idea. Two of these were the Tropical Free Labor Company and the Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves.⁸⁶ Individual English Friends, like Joseph Sturge, were active before 1840 in the free produce movement, but there was presumably no kind of Quaker organization before 1847. The subject was discussed in both "World" anti-slavery conventions at London in 1840 and 1843. Late in 1846 Elihu Burritt expressed his determination to "commence a public agitation" on the subject as soon as he could receive sufficient information about free labor products from the Philadelphia Free Produce Association.⁸⁷ The first meeting, held on January 29, 1847, discussed methods of promoting the use of free labor products. At London Yearly Meeting that year Joseph Sturge

⁸⁴ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, March 24, 1841; *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 97 (May, 1847); V, 100 (May, 1850); *Friends' Review*, XV, 184 (Nov. 23, 1861). At this date Joseph Steer was operating a store near Iowa City.

⁸⁵ Since the sources are fragmentary at best, no attempt has been made to give a complete account.

⁸⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VII, 2, 85 (July 4, Sept. 15, 1827).

⁸⁷ Elihu Burritt to [Samuel Rhoads], Exeter, England, Sept. 29, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS); *Free Labor Advocate*, Feb. 23, 1846. Joseph Sturge (1793-1859) was very active in promoting emancipation in the British colonies. In 1837 he visited the West Indies for the purpose of ascertaining the real condition of the Negroes there. His report was influential in repealing the apprenticeship system which had been set up by the original emancipation act. Sturge visited the United States in 1841, where American Friends gave him a not entirely cordial reception because many of them disagreed with his advanced views on slavery and other questions.

pressed the matter, and Samuel Rhoads went to England for the purpose of presenting to British Friends the operations and needs of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association.⁸⁸ London and Newcastle-on-Tyne were the two centers of the British movement. During 1848 the Ladies' Newcastle Free Produce Association was formed. The next year was signalized by efforts to secure the manufacture of goods from free labor cotton. In this attempt Josias F. Browne, a manufacturer of Manchester, was most prominent. The momentum generated by these efforts resulted in a large and enthusiastic meeting on May 31, 1849, which was addressed by all the leaders of the cause.⁸⁹ Agitation for the establishment of a "Free-labor warehouse" did not have any tangible results until 1851, when such a store was established in Manchester. By this time there were twenty-six free produce societies in Britain, and at Newcastle an active press was publishing numerous tracts and a periodical entitled *The Slave*.⁹⁰ A store was opened by Bessie Inglis in London in 1853, and continued at least through 1856. The large meeting in 1853 was addressed by Calvin Ellis Stowe and Harriet Beecher Stowe as well as numerous British leaders of the cause. Great optimism was expressed, especially if sufficient money could be raised to finance adequately the effort to obtain large supplies of free labor goods.⁹¹ Further accounts of the British movement are not available.

This survey of free produce societies gives some idea of their extent and nature. Between 1826 and 1856 twenty-six societies were formed in the United States. These thirty years may be subdivided into three distinct periods of activity. The first, 1826-37, was dominated by the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, and included five other bodies in the Philadelphia area and three in eastern Ohio. The second period covers the years 1838-44, when the work was carried on by the American Free Produce Associa-

⁸⁸ *Free Labor Advocate*, March 25, 1847; *Western Friend*, I, 3 (Nov. 11, 1847); *Non-Slaveholder*, II 90 (April, 1847); Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, May 17, 1847, p. 64; Samuel Rhoads to G. W. Taylor, Aug. 30, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁸⁹ *Non-Slaveholder*, III, 123 (June, 1848); IV, 137 f. (June, 1849); *Friend* (London), VII, 117 (June, 1849); *Friends' Review*, II, 702 f. (July 21, 1849).

⁹⁰ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Report of the Board of Managers* (1851), p. 4. See also Chapter VI.

⁹¹ *British Friend* (Glasgow), IX, 172, 180 (July 1, 1853); *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, II, 78 (May, 1856).

tion. This time many prominent abolitionists espoused the free produce cause, and it appeared that the boycott idea might become a major factor in the abolition crusade. When that anticipation failed to materialize, the boycott on an organized basis was left to the Quakers, who adopted it as the form of anti-slavery protest least objectionable to their more conservative fellow-members. Between 1845 and 1856 there were eleven free produce associations formed which limited their membership to Quakers. Most important was the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The New York and New England associations were the other larger bodies in the East. In the West organization began in 1842 with the Western Free Produce Association and the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting leading the work. The remaining societies, both east and west, were more local in nature and for the most part auxiliary to some larger body.

The free produce societies never had strong financial support. There was never money to be spent on lecturers, and although considerable printed propaganda was issued, it reached only a limited audience, composed chiefly of Quakers. There was never money to buy free labor cotton in quantities; hence the amount of cloth made from such cotton was limited in extent and variety. Quakers who supported the cause did not have the funds to develop it into a large movement, and the idea was not compelling enough to attract outsiders.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEARCH FOR FREE LABOR PRODUCTS

During the thirty years of organized free labor work, activity centered in the search for supplies of free labor products and in making them available to adherents of the movement. When refusal to use slave labor goods was confined to a few individuals, those persons were forced to abandon the use of cotton cloth, cane sugar, rice, and coffee if they carried out their conscientious scruple. When the movement reached the stage of organization, however, the case was different. The chief purpose of organization was not to abandon the use of cotton, sugar, rice, and coffee, but to find areas where these products were raised by free labor and to bring them into the market.

Benjamin Lundy was probably the first individual to undertake a systematic search of this kind. The American Convention of 1827 had its attention called to the subject by the Wilmington (Delaware) Society for the Encouragement of Free Labor and the Pennsylvania Free Produce Society, both of which reported their initial efforts. The latter issued a circular questionnaire, the results of which, however, are not available. With these beginnings the American Convention appointed a committee, headed by Lundy, to continue the investigation.¹ He and others optimistically believed that they could obtain free labor cotton, sugar, and coffee from Haiti, while coffee could also be had from Santo Domingo, Java, and LaGuayra, and Canton sugar was available for a price.²

The first efforts to obtain cotton, however, were confined to the United States. As early as 1828 Charles Collins of New York was receiving a few bales of cotton from one Francis Williamson of Murfreesboro, North Carolina. This was manufactured into "Pittsburgh cord," drilled, fine, plaid, and coarse shirtings, and printed muslins, priced from nineteen to twenty-one cents per yard.³

¹ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (1827), pp. 3 ff., 40 f., 46; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VII, 11 (July 14, 1827).

² *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VI, 8 (Sept. 16, 1826). LaGuayra was the chief seaport of Venezuela. Legislation was passed in 1821 which emancipated at birth the children of slave parents. Slavery was not entirely abolished in Venezuela, however, until 1854. Sugar from this area was generally considered to be the product of free labor.

³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VIII, 22 f. (Jan. 26, 1828). The

Lundy's report to the American Convention in 1828 showed only limited success in his search. Coffee could be had from Haiti and some parts of South America, but for cotton nonslaveholding farmers in the Southern States seemed to be the chief source of supply. Tobacco, he reported, could easily be obtained from Ohio, or even from Canada, where it was cultivated by Negroes.⁴ A committee of the Pennsylvania Free Produce Society, in answering an inquiry on the subject, gave an elaborate summary of available sources for free labor products. They had to admit that within the United States maple sugar was the only source of free labor sugar, the supply of cotton was limited and scattered, while rice was so scarce that a premium of twenty dollars had been offered for five to ten casks. They recapitulated the prospect for obtaining supplies from the East Indies and mentioned the favorable outlook in a few of the West Indian islands.⁵

In 1829, when the Female Society for the Encouragement of Free Labor was most active, it made further efforts to obtain free labor cotton. The supply came chiefly from Nathan Hunt, Jr., of Guilford County, North Carolina, who obtained it from Quaker and other nonslaveholding farmers. Some of it Hunt himself picked, and in all cases he gave an unconditional guarantee that it was the product of free labor. At least forty or fifty bales were purchased in the course of two years and manufactured into cloth for Philadelphia patrons. The varieties of goods included "Vigonia Cassimere," drilling, bedticking, canton flannel, table diaper, furniture and apron checks, shirting, sheeting, and calico.⁶ Even in the West a beginning was made when C. W. Starr opened a spinning mill at Richmond, Indiana, "in which *Free Labor Cotton* alone is employed." For want of power looms, however, the yarn could not be woven in that region.⁷ During these years cotton was widely grown for home consumption in southern Illinois, and some was raised in southern Ohio. This was C. W. Starr's source of free labor cotton. Abolitionists' high hopes for a good supply of free

higher price was justified by explaining that "the goods are much stouter, and generally contain about 1-3 more yarn than similar goods in the market."

⁴ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (Adjourned Session, 1828), pp. 25 ff.

⁵ *Liberator*, I, 93 f. (June 11, 1831).

⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, XI, 9, 43, 73 (April, June, Aug. 19, 1830).

⁷ *Ibid.*, XI, 73 (Aug., 1830).

labor cotton from these areas were shattered when growing on a commercial scale failed to develop.⁸

In 1830-31 the Female Free Produce Society received about thirty bales of North Carolina cotton, two bales from South Carolina, and "a small amount" from Santo Domingo. It was manufactured into canton flannel, sheeting, shirting, and dimity. The Pennsylvania Free Produce Society reported that Charles Pierce had sold, during 1830 and part of 1831, over \$5,300 worth of free labor goods, in addition to that sold by other free produce stores in Philadelphia, New York, and Wilmington, Delaware. Among his wares Pierce listed Puerto Rico, Calcutta, Canton, East Indian, and maple sugars; Puerto Rico, East India, and maple molasses; Santo Domingo and Java coffees, chocolate from Santo Domingo, cotton batting made from North Carolina cotton, and "Spanish, half-Spanish & common segars, smoking & chewing tobacco, manufactured from St. Domingo, Ohio, Connecticut and Kentucky Tobacco."⁹

Emancipation in the British West Indies was the great spur in a renewed effort to obtain free labor goods, especially foods.¹⁰ As to cotton, the American Free Produce Association followed the practice of its forerunners and sought a supply within the United States. They found that "in consequence of the very trifling demand for free cotton in years past . . . the few who had been . . . raising it have become discouraged, and almost entirely abandoned its culture." This situation induced them to offer, through their agent in North Carolina, one cent more per pound than the market price. The committee succeeded (1841) in getting 1,378 pounds of cotton in North Carolina, for which they paid twelve cents per pound, had it manufactured, and ended with a loss of \$22.21 3-4 on

⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 46, 73 (Feb. 28, 1828, Aug., 1830); Arthur Clinton Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830*, Chicago Historical Society's Collection, Vol. V (Chicago, 1908), p. 167.

⁹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, XI, 11, 194 (April supplement, May, 1831); *Liberator*, I, 88 (May 28, 1831).

¹⁰ The act abolishing slavery in the British colonies was passed in 1833. It provided for immediate emancipation of children under the age of six, but established a period of apprenticeship for all others. This feature was abolished in 1837. Thereafter the free labor adherents could conscientiously use West Indian products (American Free Produce Association, notice of first annual meeting, Sept. 17, 1839; Weld-Grimké, *Letters . . . 1822-1844*, II, 797).

the whole transaction. Their hopes, however, were pinned on the growth of cotton in British India and in Texas.¹¹

As the American Free Produce Association grew more active in manufacturing, the supply of goods in Philadelphia expanded somewhat. In 1842 their wholesale agent was J. Miller McKim,¹² while Lydia White continued the retail business. They advertised gingham, canton flannel, and muslin in several qualities, table diaper, bird eye towels, buff pantaloons, stripes, cotton batting, bed-ticking, calicoes, stockings, knitting cotton, lampwicks, and other articles.¹³ Most of these goods were made from one thousand dollars worth of "free Texas cotton" which the Association received at the end of 1841. Early in 1843 business had improved so that they were able to reduce prices 10 per cent. This was in part due to the opening of several new stores in the West which during 1842 had made comparatively large purchases at the Philadelphia wholesale center.¹⁴

The report of the Association in October, 1843, indicated a market twice as great as formerly, while their manufactured goods had improved in quality. Part of the recent difficulties had been due to the depression of 1842, when cotton prices had declined sharply. Just then the Association had on hand cotton and cotton goods which had been bought and made at the higher prices which preceded the crash; hence to meet competitive prices they were forced to take a loss on these goods. They had also found that they could not send goods out to be sold by retail dealers on commission, consignment, or credit, since it tied up their small capital. Hence business had to be on a cash basis. This policy was followed by all later wholesalers of free produce goods. In referring to the many troubles which beset them, the committee on manufactures

¹¹ *Free Labor Advocate*, I, 8 (Feb. 8, 1841).

¹² James Miller McKim (1810-1874) was born at Carlisle, Pa., educated at Dickinson College and Princeton and Andover theological seminaries, and ordained a minister in the Presbyterian church. His advocacy, after 1833, of immediate emancipation antagonized his congregation, whereupon he left the church and devoted the rest of his life to the abolition crusade and to the Negro. He was editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, he protected fugitive slaves, and after 1862 he was very active in the Freedmen's Aid Association.

¹³ *Free Labor Advocate*, Sept. 24, 1842.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 369 (Jan. 27, 1842, May 6, June 24, Aug. 1, 1843). Two such stores were kept by Joel Parker at Newport, and Seth Hinshaw at Greensboro, Ind. The latter advertised that he had "on hand Laguira and St. Domingo coffee, Sandwich Island molasses, Laguira sugar, Manilla and Bengal Indigo. . . ." (*Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1843.)

mentioned the inferior quality of cotton, its price higher than slave-grown cotton, limited capital which necessitated the manufacture of small lots at heavier costs, and the continued drop in the cotton market generally. They felt, however, that a turn for the better would soon take place, when the price situation would be reversed. During 1843 they had purchased over 30,000 pounds of cotton, and their sales of goods had exceeded \$7,000. They had manufactured over 40,000 yards of cloth, which included muslin, shirting, sheeting, printing cloth, bedticking, canton flannel, drilling, Manchester gingham, table diaper, calico, and millinet. During 1844 the outlook continued encouraging. The Association manufactured over 41,000 yards of cloth at a total expense of \$8,859.75. Their gross income for the year was \$7,805.95.¹⁵ This organization existed for several more years, but no other manufacturing reports are available.

While the Association had its many difficulties in providing goods, the purchasers had their complaints too, as they were voiced by Levi Coffin:

. . . we have many difficulties to contend with, a lack of confidence in Daniel L Miller, Charles Wise & the great difference in the price of goods and the poorness of the assortment stile &c, are great barriers in the way. The people cannot understand why there should be so much difference in the cost, they believe of course there is an imposition practiced. I have succeeded well in selling Free goods this season notwithstanding these difficulties, but at almost no profit. . . . If Free goods can be brought down about on a level with other goods a great many may be sold in the west.¹⁶

Once more it was time for a renewal of effort in the cause. This came in 1845 with the formation of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The constitution declared that

The Association shall aim to procure correct information of the conditions of the countries with which we have commercial intercourse in respect to free and slave labour, and the means of discriminating between their productions. . . . It shall adopt means for obtaining a supply of such articles, the productions of free labour,

¹⁵ American Free Produce Association, *Fifth Annual Report* (1843), pp. 1-11; *Free Labor Advocate*, Jan. 5, 1844, May 10, 1845.

¹⁶ Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, New Garden, Ind., July 18, 1845 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

as are not readily to be procured by individuals through the ordinary channels of commerce or manufacture.¹⁷

To implement these provisions the Board of Managers, at its first meeting on September 20, 1845, appointed Abraham L. Pennock and Samuel Rhoads to assemble such information.¹⁸

Rather fortuitously these men had ready to hand enough information to provide an initial report. It came from a letter written the previous spring by Levi Coffin, in which he expressed great confidence (based on his own investigations) that an ample supply of free labor cotton could be obtained in the South. After mentioning the North Carolina supply, he went on to explain how his neighbor, Nathan Thomas, had in 1844 visited relatives in northern Mississippi where he found such cotton available in various places. Coffin had also located some in North Alabama and West Tennessee.¹⁹ Pursuing their inquiries, the committee found other friends of the cause who offered to buy cotton for them, while an English Quaker assured them that "Egyptian cotton may more justly be regarded as *free* produce than otherwise."²⁰

Before the next meeting of the Board, another letter had come from Levi Coffin, explaining that Nathan Thomas and his cousin, Moorman Way, had already started to Mississippi on another visit

¹⁷ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 10 (Jan., 1846).

¹⁸ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 20, 1845, p. 2. Samuel Rhoads (1807-1868) was one of the most active leaders of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association. He was the author of several tracts on slavery, he was editor of the *Non-Slaveholder* from 1846 to 1850, and in 1856 he became editor of the *Friends' Review*, in which capacity he served until a few months before his death.

¹⁹ Levi Coffin to Abraham L. Pennock, April 1, 1845 (G. W. Taylor MSS) (this is a contemporary copy of the original letter); Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Sept. 27, 1845, p. 7.

²⁰ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Nov. 1, 1846, pp. 21 f. Prior to this meeting the Board of Managers had adopted bylaws and set up standing committees. These were:

Committee on Finance "who shall provide ways and means and certify all bills before they are presented to the Board." Samuel Allinson, Jr., George W. Taylor, and Thomas Wistar, Jr. Committee on Supplies, "to ascertain where Free Produce is to be obtained, and to take measures under the direction of the Board for procuring such articles as may be wanted." Abraham L. Pennock, Israel H. Johnson, Samuel Rhoads, and Samuel Alsop.

Committee on Manufactures, "to superintend the manufacturing of the Products." Samuel Rhoads, Elihu Pickering, Edward Garrett, and Abraham L. Pennock.

to relatives as well as a survey of the free labor cotton situation. Coffin urged the Board to act quickly if they expected to obtain any of that year's crop. Upon the basis of this information the Board, on November 15, 1845, authorized the purchase of fifty bales of cotton.²¹

Being inexperienced in such an undertaking, the committee were somewhat confused as to procedure, but Nathan Thomas, writing from Holly Springs, Mississippi, set them right on several points. He assured them that cash on the spot was necessary and that they could not expect to have cotton shipped without paying for it first. He explained that the small farmers who had free labor cotton for sale needed their money—and could readily sell in the ordinary market. He had engaged about fifty bales for the Association, but would need a bank draft on Memphis as soon as possible. Prices averaged seven cents in the Memphis market, and he was paying no more, but he personally looked after the ginning, and had to pay extra to insure free labor work.²²

The committee's inquiries addressed to John H. Krafft, a Memphis cotton factor, elicited a very encouraging reply. He claimed that about one fifth of all cotton coming onto the Memphis market was raised by free labor; hence he could furnish a large amount. He added: ". . . they may rely upon my *honour* that every bale shall be strictly 'free labour,' and that each Invoice shall be sworn to before a magistrate and the name and residence of each grower be given."²³ Nathan Thomas ultimately obtained sixty-three bales,

²¹ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Nov. 15, 1845, p. 22; Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, Newport, Ind., Oct. 30, 1845 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

²² Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, Holly Springs, Miss., Nov. 20, 1845 (G. W. Taylor MSS). Thomas's activities were confined chiefly to North Mississippi. His account of the difficulties with ginning is as follows: "[There was] a small additional expence for bailing, in order to make it entirely clear from Slave labour. . . . A part we got white men to handle entirely by renting gins an other part was gined through the Christmas Holladays when the slaves got the entire profit and the rest we have had to pay the slaves (with the concent of their claiments) for ther survises over and above the usual toll for gining according to the number of them engaged in it as the gins are all owned by the large planters, we have had to seek the most favourable opportunities for having it put up right, which makes by far the greatest difficulty in obtaining free cotton. . . ." Nathan Thomas had a vigorous and alert mind and much practical business sense, but a limited formal education.

²³ J. H. Krafft to Messrs. Brown & Bowen, Dec. 6, 1845 (G. W. Taylor MSS); Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 32.

which were shipped by John H. Krafft, and reached Philadelphia in April, 1846. Ten bales of this cotton were sold to Daniel L. Miller, Jr., for the American Free Produce Association.²⁴

The difficulties in getting cotton ginned led Nathan Thomas to undertake a better arrangement. The essential need was for gins owned by nonslaveholding farmers. Toward this end Thomas "ventured to order a gin put up in Lafayette County near the had [*sic*] of navigation to the Talahatchey river" where he thought there could "bee 100 or 150 bails collected . . ." which would mean a supply of cotton at market prices. The Managers concluded to advance as much as three hundred dollars to purchase the gin, which was to be repaid in cotton.²⁵ John H. Krafft explained the best mode of procedure and assured them that if 1,500 to 2,000 bales could be taken, the cotton would be no higher than slave-grown, but if a small quantity only was handled it would of course cost more. Krafft offered to supervise the whole undertaking if someone to inspect the gins were provided. Krafft was sincerely interested, but he overestimated the financial resources of the free produce associations.²⁶ On further reflection, he advised against the establishment of gins, for, he said, the cotton Nathan Thomas had bought cost nearly one cent per pound more than it was worth. This was due to the fact that it was bought in rural areas where each farmer thought his crop was worth the top price. If the purchases had been made in a large market with expert evaluation, Krafft was confident the Association would have saved money. He felt sure that several hundred bales of "*pure* free labour cotton" could be had each season in the Memphis market, and if the Association would waive the free labor ginning requirement, many thousand bales would be available. He was willing to enter into such business arrangements as would be mutually advantageous.²⁷ Krafft continued to be the Association's purchasing agent until his death in August, 1857, and was succeeded by Thomas Leech and Company.

²⁴ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Feb. 2, March 7, April 4, 1846, pp. 33-35; Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, Memphis, Tenn., Jan. 14, Feb. 13, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

²⁵ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, June 6, 1846, pp. 47 f.; Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, Jan. 14, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

²⁶ J. H. Krafft to Samuel Rhoads, Memphis, Tenn., Jan. 20, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

²⁷ J. H. Krafft to Samuel Rhoads, Memphis, Tenn., March 16, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

At about the same time Nathan Thomas reported his views on the matter and detailed the arrangement he had made for the next season. J. A. and R. S. Hunt of Lafayette County, Mississippi, would supply at least one hundred bales. (It was to these men that the Association loaned three hundred dollars to build a gin.) In Marshall County, Mississippi, there was already a gin operated by free labor which would furnish at least fifty bales. In the same county Nathan Thomas's uncle, Pleasant Diggs, would build a gin if a like amount was loaned him, while a neighbor, William Crow, expected to buy a farm having a gin and therewith supply at least sixty bales. William McRay of Oak Ridge in the same county was so sure of obtaining at least two hundred bales that the Association agreed to lend him money to erect a gin. Others offered to build gins on their own responsibility. Thus Nathan Thomas felt sure of obtaining at least four hundred bales.²⁸

His final report on his operations for the winter of 1845-46 was made in April, 1846. The sixty-three bales of cotton he had secured came from fifteen farmers, and varied from two to eleven bales per farm. As to compensation for his own services, Nathan Thomas calculated his additional

expens war nearly payed by the \$15.00 that I drew . . . for traviling while engaged in procuring cotton. . . . [He added] I shall be satisfied with what ever the managers may think fit to bestow, or if the institution should be limited in its resorces let it slip entirely, however needy I may be let not the caus great caus be paralyzed the least on my account. . . .

In mentioning the way in which his activities were received in the South he said: ". . . we had no violence shown us although the excitement ran very high in some places. We ware threatened with the civil authorities . . . but we endeavoured to act prudently on all occasions. . . ." In some neighborhoods residents were cautioned to guard their Negro quarters, on the assumption that Thomas's real purpose was "to instill mischief in the heads of the negrows." By having their relatives and local acquaintances accompany them, and by making constant and careful explanations of their purposes, Thomas and his cousin usually succeeded in quieting suspicion.²⁹

²⁸ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, New Garden, Ind., March 18, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS); Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, June 6, 1846, pp. 47 ff.

²⁹ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, New Garden, Ind., April 8, 1846

All these activities the Managers were able to report to the first annual meeting of the Association on April 21, 1846. Since the cotton was not received until early spring, the Committee on Manufactures did not yet have much tangible evidence of their activities. They also encountered their first difficulties in getting small lots of cloth made so that it would not be mixed with that woven from slave labor cotton. Nevertheless, 10,000 yards of sheeting, calicoes, cambrics, apron checks, pant stuff, and bedticking had been contracted for, and a few pieces were already finished.³⁰ These goods were turned over for selling to Thomas S. Field and Company. A few months later the Managers decided to ship ten bales of their cotton to Manchester for manufacture into finer fabrics than they could readily have made in the United States.³¹

Since the treasurer's records as such are not available, it is impossible to know the Association's exact financial condition. But from notations in the Minutes of the Managers, a sum between \$2,400 and \$2,700 was spent up to August 1, 1846. Of this amount, about \$1,800 went for cotton and freight charges thereon. The annual report of 1847 noted the permanent capital as being slightly more than \$4,000, while the merchandise sold or on hand amounted to \$5,500 and the cotton in process to \$2,200.³²

During 1846-47 the Association sent no agent to the South, because arrangements to do so were begun too late in the season. Levi Coffin, however, was active in the work. In August, 1846, he had two sixty-saw gins made at Cincinnati, but when they were

(G. W. Taylor MSS). In his further comments Nathan Thomas said, "Here let mee state that great ignorance prevails among the common people, perhaps no more than one white man in twenty that reads the publick papers, and the little and imperfect news on the moovements of the people of the north on the slave question; that reaches them leaves them much in the dark.

"The few that do understand what is going on, deal it out as suits them best, . . . when the poor of that country properly understands the principles of A. S. men they then view them as their best friends, for they feel the Iron heal of aristocracy grinding them down to a level with the slave."

³⁰ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, April 17, 1846, pp. 36 f.; *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 65-68 (May, 1846).

³¹ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Aug. 1, 1846, p. 53.

³² *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 97 (May, 1847); Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Feb. 2, April 4, June 6, 1846, pp. 32, 35, 46 f. In May, 1846, Gerrit Smith donated an unspecified amount of money to the Association and indicated his willingness to help "from time to time." Gerrit Smith to Abraham L. Pennock, Peterboro [, N. Y.], May 18, 1846 (*Non-Slaveholder*, I, 94, June, 1846).

ready he found that William McRay could not then take his. The other was sent to the Hunt family. McRay, however, assured Coffin that his cotton crop was very fine, that he would act as agent, that he believed at least 150 bales of free labor cotton could be had in his neighborhood, and that he would rent a gin which would be operated by free labor only. Coffin was also assured of free labor cotton in Yalobusha County, Mississippi, by one Dr. Thacker who lived there. Coffin described him as "a true hearted abolitionist, tho a slave owner at this time," who had tried to settle his slaves in a free state, but met with no encouragement. Coffin continued: ". . . he pays his slaves for their Labor gives them a part of the cotton they raise, he has a Cotton Gin, will raise about 20 bales . . . there can be, he thinks about 150 bales of Free Cotton got in the neighborhood. . . ." ³³

Meanwhile the Managers were trying to arrange for putting large amounts of free labor cotton on the Philadelphia market. Various manufacturers expressed a preference for such cotton, but were unwilling to purchase it themselves or even take it without seeing it first. Hence the Managers had to confine themselves to 200 bales, and they were furthermore very anxious to reduce freight charges and other expenses which had been very high the first year. ³⁴ On account of the high price, the Managers were reluctant to purchase much cotton, but they finally authorized J. H. Krafft to buy "free cotton of good qualities to the amount of about two thousand Dollars." Early in December, 1846, Krafft purchased twenty-four bales at a cost of \$1,157.50. Some weeks later the Managers ordered twenty bales "of the *very best* free labour cotton," which was to be shipped to Liverpool for British Friends interested in the cause. ³⁵

During this year the manufacturing committee encountered much the same difficulties as previously, but succeeded in adding somewhat to the variety of goods and increased the quantity to about 40,000 yards, as well as putting in stock handkerchiefs, hosiery, knitting cotton, and cotton batting. ³⁶ But even when the manufac-

³³ Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, Cincinnati, Aug. 9, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

³⁴ Samuel Rhoads to John H. Krafft, Blockly, Pa., Oct. 13, 1846 [draft] (G. W. Taylor MSS).

³⁵ Samuel Rhoads to J. H. Krafft, Nov. 27, 1846 [draft], Feb. 15, 1847, J. H. Krafft to Samuel Rhoads, Feb. 16, March 19, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

³⁶ "To the Board of Managers of Free Produce Association of Friends

turing committee had done its best, the results were not satisfactory to all, as is witnessed by the complaints of an Ohio retailer:

We are [he wrote] very desirous to supply the market here with free Labor goods, and live by it. . . . But unless we can have a better supply of goods and *better* goods than we have been able to get for the last year . . . it will be *impossible to live by the business here!* . . . this year so fare we can get no prints that we can sell at all. . . . We have customers who are wiling to sustain us at a Reasonable sacrifice. But this class is intirely inadequate to sustain us. . . . We would like to know the reason why our Free Labor calicoes are coarser less durable and more faidy than other prints which are manufactured in the Eastern States.³⁷

In May, 1847, the Association received a donation of five hundred dollars from Joseph Sturge. This enabled them to plan to send an agent to obtain cotton in the South. Nathan Thomas was again employed.³⁸ He did not reach Memphis until the middle of December, 1847, but as the price of cotton had fallen since the opening of the season, his delay was considered advantageous. The Hunts, to whom the gin had been supplied, were now "ready to settle the whole debt in Free cotton," since they expected to have at least fifty bales. While Nathan Thomas was procuring cotton for that season, his chief mission, however, was to locate large amounts of free labor cotton, for the Philadelphia association was still optimistic about supplying several mills with free labor cotton exclusively. He reported a large potential amount in the vicinity of Byhalia, Marshall County, Mississippi. Proceeding from there to western Tennessee, he arranged to procure for the next year over seven hundred bales. Thomas also sought to provide rope and bagging of free labor materials.³⁹

After many delays in the mails Nathan Thomas received authori-

of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The Committee on Manufactures Report," April 16, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

³⁷ W. R. Wheeler to George W. Taylor, West Elkton, Preble County, Ohio, May 28, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

³⁸ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, May 17, 1847, p. 62; Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, New Garden, Ind., Jan. 16, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

³⁹ Nathan Thomas to G. W. Taylor [actually sent, however, to Samuel Rhoads], Coffeerville [, Miss.], Dec. 20, 1847; Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, Yalobusha [, Miss.], Dec. 31, 1847; *idem* to *idem*, Lafayette Co., Miss., Jan. 6, 1848; *idem* to *idem*, Marshall Co., Miss., Jan. 11, 1848; *idem* to G. W. Taylor, Jacinto, Miss., Feb. 2, 1848 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

zation to proceed with his journey to Louisiana and Texas, chiefly to find supplies of cotton and rice. In New Orleans he made numerous acquaintances who promised their help, one of whom, John Small, a native of Philadelphia there for his health, agreed to accompany Thomas to Texas. They reached that state early in March, 1848, and during the following weeks made an extensive journey on horseback through eastern Texas and into Arkansas, returning by boat from Little Rock to Memphis. In his report Thomas gave an extensive description of Texas and expressed much hope of the region as a source of free labor products. He had to admit that for the present the cause could expect nothing. The region was too new, settlements too scattered, transportation too little developed, and capital too scarce. As yet most settlers were raising cattle, or food products to sell to newcomers. In Arkansas they found a little cotton. Cotton, sugar, and rice—at least that raised by free labor—were as yet only contemplated. Texas remained for the next decade the great region of hope for the advocates of the free labor cause.⁴⁰

Though unsuccessful in locating free labor sugar or rice, Nathan Thomas made arrangements for procuring over two thousand bales of cotton for the next year. At the same time John H. Krafft of Memphis continued to ship all cotton that the Philadelphia Association purchased. He again deplored the unnecessary expense involved in Thomas's local purchasing. But the latter's procedure was apparently approved by the Managers, for it was part of their purpose to seek out the struggling farmer with the hope of spurring him to greater efforts by the assurance of a great new market where the products of his own labor would actively promote the abolition of an economic system where he must compete with slave labor. Thomas found that his activities created less excitement than had been the case on his previous journey. During the season of 1847-48 J. H. Krafft shipped to Philadelphia on his own account thirty bales of free labor cotton. The Association then ordered thirty to

⁴⁰ Nathan Thomas to G. W. Taylor, Grimes Co., Texas, March 12, 1848; *idem* to *idem*, Lavara, Texas, March 24, 1848; *idem* to *idem*, Steamer *E. W. Stephens*, April 16, 1848; *idem* to *idem* [, New Garden, Ind.], May 14, 1848; Nathan Thomas, "[Report] to the Board of Managers of the Friends F. L. Association in Philadelphia," New Garden [, Ind.], April 27, 1848 (G. W. Taylor MSS). Nathan Thomas was paid \$300 to cover his expenses and remuneration from the \$500 contributed by Joseph Sturge (Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, June 19, 1848, p. 79).

thirty-five bales "of cotton raised and ginned by free labour exclusively to the value of Fifteen hundred dollars."⁴¹

Meanwhile, from cotton already on hand, the Managers in their annual report (April, 1848) could point to a total of nearly 70,000 yards of cloth manufactured during the preceding year. This represented a considerable increase in varieties and improvement in quality, but they had to confess that prices were still well above the market, since it was necessary to have the weaving done in small mills where the savings of mass production did not operate. They urged adherents of the cause to be patient and promised better results for the future.⁴²

In October, 1848, a fundamental change in operations took place when the stock of goods belonging to the Association was transferred to George W. Taylor, at a total valuation of \$5,993.80. Also placed at his disposal were the "permanent fund loaned without interest" amounting to \$4,500 and outright donations totaling \$440. At the same time Robert Lindley Murray, proprietor of the New York store, was guaranteed against loss to the extent of five hundred dollars in his enterprise to buy free labor cotton and send it to the Liverpool market. Under this arrangement Murray shipped about two hundred bales. In the search for other free labor products the Association undertook to ascertain "the present condition of the emancipated population of the British West Indies. . . ."⁴³

In 1849 Nathan Thomas once more prepared to journey through the South in search of cotton. This time he was accompanied by Henry Charles, a young Quaker who "has been a warm friend to the slave for many years, and an abstainer from the proceeds as far as practicable." They reached Memphis at the end of November, 1849, and devoted themselves mostly to seeking out gins operated by free labor, inquiring from neighborhood to neighborhood. About this time the "cottage gin" came to the attention of the Managers. This was a small-sized, cheaply priced cotton gin manufactured in England for use in British India. The Managers soon ordered one

⁴¹ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Jan. 17, 1848; John H. Krafft to Samuel Rhoads, Memphis, Tenn., Jan. 17, 1848 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁴² Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Report of the Manufacturing Committee, March 10, 1848, p. 75.

⁴³ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Oct. 9, Nov. 13, 1848, pp. 81 f.; *Non-Slaveholder*, IV, 97 ff. (May, 1849); *Friend* (London), VII, 76 (April, 1849).

and later shipped it to Cincinnati, where Levi Coffin arranged to have several made if the sample should prove satisfactory.⁴⁴ Nathan Thomas immediately asked that one be sent to William McRay. He found that Anderson Hunt, to whom the first gin had been sent in 1847, had so far fallen into error as to hire a slave, but, Thomas added, "I was gratified in learning that they did not put off their cotton as F. L. Cotton. . . ."⁴⁵

Nathan Thomas's itinerary this season was somewhat different. While he and Henry Charles spent some time in northern Mississippi and West Tennessee, they also traveled extensively through North Alabama.⁴⁶ From there they went to Mobile and thence to New Orleans "to investigate more fully the shugar business."⁴⁷ Late in January, 1850, they were back in North Alabama, and expected to go from there to Georgia. The frustration of this plan Nathan Thomas described thus:

And now dear friend I come to a *waty* matter with us, that is, under the present exited state of public sentiment a doubt of the propriety of extending our mission through Georgia and what makes it more trying to us is not having an opportunity of confering with you on the matter; It appears to be the expectation of all the reading portion of community that a *desalootion* is about *certain* and ar-raingments are already making by some for such an *event*; true the most of the F. community are not advised on this matter only

⁴⁴ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, New Garden, Ind., March 22, 1849 (G. W. Taylor MSS); *Non-Slaveholder*, IV, 97 ff. (May, 1849).

⁴⁵ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, Holly Springs, Miss., Dec. 3, 8, 1849 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁴⁶ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, Carrollton, Ala., Dec. 20, 1849; Franklin Co., Ala., Jan. 22, 1850 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁴⁷ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, New Orleans, Jan. 2, 1850 (G. W. Taylor MSS). In his report to the Board of Managers, Thomas explained this effort: "The object of our going to New Orleans was to find F. L. Shugar and Rice and after we wrote we went in Company with Friend Fuller to the Shugar Levee and inquired of those men that ware the most acquainted in the shugar country, but could find or hear of non Woodland who had the Germans at work on a shuga farm, as reported in my last had abandoned the project sold out to a slave holder. The great expence of erecting a shugar mill prevents poor people from engaging in it when those large mills with steam engines are erected. they superseed the old plan of grinding by horse power; so far that the latter plan appears to be entirely abandoned. The poor people that live in the shugar country raise cotton insted of shugar, and from what we could hear it appeared useless for us to go up the coast [i.e. coast] to enquire further" (Nathan Thomas "[Report] to Board of Managers of Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," New Garden, Ind., Feb. 14, 1850, G. W. Taylor MSS).

by the planters and then in a way suited to arouse them in an unprofitable manner. the tide of public sentiment is evidently getting more and more prejudiced against the North. further the feelings of S. Carolina and Georgia is such that I doubt our getting an agent to attend to it at Charleston or Savanna if we were to find cotton in Geo. . . .

It is only from a wish to do for the *best*, that we think of declining going much further in the work, true it is a heart rending business. . . .⁴⁸

They left Alabama shortly thereafter and reached home on February 6, 1850. Their report detailed more fully the difficulties just alluded to. They found that they were watched almost constantly and that all kinds of rumors were spread as to the nature of their business. Many who were personally willing to assist them found it unwise to do so. When they were in Autauga County, Alabama, for the second time the planter (R. Morton) with whom they were staying would not permit them to call at the post office for their mail. He sent a local boy who, however, was not given the mail there for them. It was only through Morton's stern insistence that they received two personal letters. In many places they found it advisable to depart as soon as their business was concluded and before their presence had aroused much suspicion.⁴⁹

Besides presenting a written report, Nathan Thomas went to Philadelphia for the annual meeting of the Free Produce Association, where he spoke to the assemblage and conferred with the Eastern leaders. He went home by way of New York, where he saw Benjamin Tatham, Secretary of the New York Free Produce Association. In Rochester he visited Frederick Douglass.⁵⁰ This was Nathan Thomas's last outstanding work for the cause. He endeavored to promote the sale of Taylor's free labor goods to various retail dealers in Indiana, and occasionally he lectured a little. Nathan Thomas died on August 22, 1851, of cholera, leaving his affairs in a badly confused state. It appears that he had joined Nathan Stanton

⁴⁸ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, Franklin Co., Ala., Jan. 22, 1850 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁴⁹ Nathan Thomas, "[Report] to Board of Managers of Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," Feb. 14, 1850, New Garden, Ind. (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁵⁰ Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, New Garden, Ind., March 13, 20, May 7, 1850 (G. W. Taylor MSS). Thomas's trip to Philadelphia interfered seriously with his farming operations. Frederick Douglass strongly endorsed the free produce cause.

in operating a free labor store and died owing George W. Taylor \$1,134.46.⁵¹

Year by year the search for cotton went on. As Nathan Thomas's work had fully shown, there was an ample supply of free labor cotton within the United States. The difficulty came in segregating it. Because of this the friends of free labor were constantly alert to find supplies of cotton in other parts of the world. This proved to be chiefly a matter of "great expectations," but during the decade of the 1850's some real progress was made. Within this country Texas continued to be the great hope. As early as 1855 German immigrants there raised six hundred bales.⁵² Various parts of Africa were looked upon as great potential cotton-growing regions. One of these was Algeria, where the French were reportedly encouraging its cultivation. Optimists predicted that "we shall soon have the finest fabrics of French manufacture from free labor cotton."⁵³ Central Africa, where, as a missionary reported, "*Cotton grows spontaneously*," also aroused great anticipations. During 1857 some 1,250 bales of 100 pounds each had actually been imported "by Thomas Clegg, a large cotton spinner of Manchester." In 1859 some 4,000 pounds of African cotton arrived in Boston, while in Liberia the situation was reported to be promising.⁵⁴ South America and Australia were also looked upon as sources of supply, together with the West Indies, British India, and other parts of the Far East.⁵⁵ An experiment at Port Natal, South Africa, did not succeed. Furthermore, no sea island cotton produced by free labor was ever found.⁵⁶

This anxious quest for cotton in distant regions had behind it the hope that if a sufficient amount could be had from such areas it

⁵¹ G. W. Taylor to Nathan Stanton, Aug. 23, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 22 f.); *Friends' Review*, IV, 825 (Sept. 13, 1851). This obituary notice does not give Thomas's age, but mentions that his father, Benjamin Thomas, died on the same day of the same disease.

⁵² *Friends' Review*, IX, 90 (Oct. 20, 1855).

⁵³ *Vergennes* (Vt.) *Citizen*, Aug. 6, 1856; *Friends' Review*, IX, 53-56 (Oct. 6, 1855).

⁵⁴ *Vergennes Citizen*, Jan. 2, 1857; *Friends' Review*, XI, 558 (May 8, 1858); XII, 792 (Aug. 20, 1859); XIII, 343 (Feb. 4, 1860).

⁵⁵ Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, *Minutes of the Board of Managers* (1853), p. 3; *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, II, 93 (June, 1856). G. W. Taylor was ready to buy some of this African cotton until he found that the fibers were too short for spinning, and so revoked his order.

⁵⁶ G. W. Taylor to Elihu Burritt, July 18, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 252).

would ultimately offer serious competition to United States cotton. When that time arrived Great Britain would turn to cotton produced in her own colonies and might even levy a protective duty which would ruin the market for American cotton. Then the South would emancipate its slaves whose labor would no longer bring in profits. Even without tariffs, advocates of the cause were sure that such a condition would prove the superiority and economy of free labor.⁵⁷

Passing reference has been made to products other than cotton. It now remains to give a little more attention to them. Prior to the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, sugar produced by free labor was one of the most difficult articles to obtain. The chief trouble was that slave-grown West Indian sugar was protected by the laying of a heavy duty on sugar produced in British India and other parts of the Far East.⁵⁸ This made the price prohibitive. Mexico was another source optimistically looked to, largely because of a report on the subject by Sir Henry G. Ward, British envoy to Mexico.⁵⁹ The search for all products was accompanied by much wishful thinking, or at least unjustified optimism. In 1828 an article appeared claiming that sugar could easily be raised as far north as latitude 33°, and that the raising of the crop was simple, easy, healthful, and did not require much capital. Benjamin Lundy seized on this as a happy augury of what might be expected in the future.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, Lundy's report to the American Convention in 1828 gave definite assurance that sugar was produced by free labor in at least two islands of the West Indies. Again he became hopeful in announcing that a company had purchased land in Florida for the purpose of raising sugar.⁶¹ An even more fantastic scheme came

⁵⁷ The condition of free labor in these areas was scarcely ever alluded to. Advocates of the free labor cause had their eyes intently fixed on whether labor was legally slave or legally free. The fact that colonial "free" labor was consistently exploited so that the condition of the individual might be no better than if he were a slave, was ignored at this time. Allusion to it was very rare, as was also any reference to exploitation of cotton mill workers either in Britain or the United States.

⁵⁸ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, IV, 172 (Aug., 1825); VII, 70, 123 (Sept. 2, Oct. 20, 1827).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, X, 105 (Dec. 11, 1829). Ward's report was dated March 13, 1826, and was taken by Lundy from the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter* for Aug., 1829. Ward had personally investigated sugar growing by free labor in various parts of Mexico. His favorable report was widely noticed by anti-slavery leaders.

⁶⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, VIII, 70 (March 15, 1828).

⁶¹ American Convention . . . , *Minutes* (Adjourned Session, 1828), pp. 25 ff.

to light in 1832, when a resident of Jaffrey, New Hampshire, built a plant for making sugar and molasses from potatoes, while in 1841 an effort to make sugar from corn was announced.⁶²

One kind of free labor sugar always available was maple sugar, which was regularly stocked by all free labor stores. This, combined with such other as could be obtained, provided a reasonably adequate supply. During 1829 Charles Pierce's free labor store in Philadelphia reported the purchase of over \$4,000 worth of free labor sugar and molasses.⁶³ Some of this he obtained from Puerto Rico, of a Spanish planter who did not have slaves, but used free labor. At about this time "*White India Sugar*" was advertised in New York at 12 1-2 cents per pound. In 1839 a Boston merchant advertised "FREE LABOR MOLASSES from the Sandwich Islands."⁶⁴

In their address to the New York Free Produce Association, the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia association enumerated Mexico, LaGuayra, and Manila as sources for sugar; and Java, Santo Domingo, LaGuayra, and Maracaibo as coffee-producing areas.⁶⁵ In 1847 the Philadelphia association became concerned over the sale of Puerto Rican sugar and molasses as free labor products, and asked the New York association to make special investigations so that no fraud should be practiced. They felt that the British West Indies and various South American countries were more reliable sources. Often they had to take advantage of a chance supply as happened when the Boston Sugar Refinery informed Taylor that it had purchased several cargoes of Manila sugar which would go through the refinery in about two weeks and would sell as "11c for loaf and crushed, and 11 1-2c for powdered—5% off for cash."⁶⁶

On his tour in 1847-48 for cotton, Nathan Thomas heard of

⁶² *Liberator*, II, 51 (March 31, 1832); *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Sept. 29, 1841.

⁶³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, X, 58 (Oct. 30, 1829).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; *SUGAR from another HEMISPHERE*, advertised by N. Very [n.p., n.d., ca. Nov. 24, 1830? a broadside]; *Liberator*, IX, 43 (March 15, 1839). This molasses probably came from Koloa Plantation, the first sugar plantation in the Hawaiian Islands (Arthur C. Alexander, *Koloa Plantation, 1835-1935: A History of the Oldest Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*, Honolulu, 1937, pp. 1-24).

⁶⁵ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Oct. 4, 1845, p. 10.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1847, p. 10; Rice & Thaxton to G. W. Taylor, Boston, April 28, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

one Louisiana sugar planter who had hired thirty German immigrants to work one hundred acres of cane. His hopes from this source were dashed, however, when he learned early in 1850 that the planter "had abandoned the project [and] sold out to a slave holder."⁶⁷

In 1850 the question of Puerto Rican sugar still weighed heavily upon the Managers of the Philadelphia association, and so they determined to send George W. Taylor on a trip of personal investigation. Taylor sailed on November 9, 1850. In Bermuda he found the emancipated Negroes "pressed down by so many disabilities that their condition is still far from comfortable." In St. Thomas he devoted himself to inquiries about Puerto Rico and was assured "that there were no estates . . . cultivated wholly without slaves." A letter to a Puerto Rican merchant resulted in further corroboration of this fact. Meanwhile Taylor visited Saint Croix, where he "became persuaded that here was the place for obtaining supplies of sugar and molasses." After investigating the situation to his complete satisfaction Taylor engaged a young Quaker who had accompanied him to visit Barbados, Trinidad, and Demarara, to make further inquiries. By the early spring of 1851 Taylor had obtained a modest supply of Saint Croix sugar and molasses made from the new crop. In 1853 the Managers could tell the Philadelphia association that "the British, French and Danish West Indies, so recently the strongholds of slavery," could now be looked to as sources of free labor sugar.⁶⁸

It was not long before another ephemeral scheme for making sugar caught the attention of free labor adherents. Beginning in 1856, they were confronted with numerous articles on the virtues of "Chinese sugar cane" (sorghum cane). Experiments in various

⁶⁷ Nathan Thomas to G. W. Taylor, Harden Co., Tenn., Jan. 25, 1848; Nathan Thomas, "[Report] To Board of Managers of Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," Feb. 14, 1850 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁶⁸ Philadelphia Free Produce Association, Minutes of the Board of Managers, May 12, 1851, pp. 88 ff.; *Friends' Review*, VI, 635 f. (June 18, 1853). In this connection G. W. Taylor asked Elihu Burritt to make "enquiry for me through thy French, Belgian and Dutch correspondents, in relation to the practicability of my importing from either of those countries, Refined, Loaf, crushed or ground Sugars—The U. S. duty is 30 per cent. ad valorem If I could know the cost & probable freight to Philada. I could make my calculations—I mean *free labour* Sugar—either refined from the Beet root sugar wholly or from a mixture of that & Manilla or English, French or Danish West India sugars—" (G. W. Taylor to Elihu Burritt, Sept. 3, 1852, Taylor Letterbooks, I, 29).

parts of the country soon showed that it would produce satisfactory molasses, while all firmly believed that "our chemists will soon teach us how to convert the syrup into sugar for *export*."⁶⁹ The heavy duty on foreign sugar to protect Louisiana planters, and the vast increase in price due to poor crops made the development of sorghum doubly necessary. High prices for cane sugar also led to a great increase in the manufacture of maple sugar. Of this kind, 34,253,436 pounds had been produced in 1850, while it was estimated that in 1857 the amount was almost 70,000,000 pounds. In 1859 Taylor advertised a supply of syrup "made from the AFRICAN IMPHEE" (a variety of sorghum).⁷⁰

The best hopes for a supply of free labor rice appeared when it was found that some nonslaveholding farmers in eastern North Carolina raised a little rice. Steps were immediately taken to purchase what was available, and this, it was hoped, would quickly lead to increased cultivation. To this end Charles Pierce in 1831 and 1832 offered a premium of twenty dollars for five to ten casks of rice. This stimulus probably did not have the desired effect, for in 1833 Joseph H. Beale, who had a wholesale free produce store in New York, imported rice from the East Indies.⁷¹

Late in 1846 Henry Miles made a journey to Virginia in search of free labor produce. In the counties of Southampton, Nansemond, and Isle of Wight he discovered anew that a few Friends raised small amounts of indigo, cotton, and rice. After seeing several patches of rice he was convinced that assurance of a steady market would bring a good supply at fifty to seventy-five cents a bushel. The next season thirty bushels were secured from Southampton County, while more was expected from Perquimans County, North Carolina.⁷² Taylor's inquiries about tropical products in Liberia elicited the reply that as yet that country produced little more than it consumed. A packet line had just been established, and a little coffee had been shipped. Rice could be sent in a rough state, and ginger was available.⁷³

⁶⁹ *Friends' Review*, X, 184 (Nov. 29, 1856); *Vergennes Citizen*, Sept. 18, 1857. Henry Miles was one of the experimenters.

⁷⁰ *Friends' Review*, X, 344, 575 (Feb. 7, May 16, 1857); XIII, 154 (Nov. 12, 1859).

⁷¹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, X, 58 (Oct. 30, 1829); XII, 136 (Jan., 1832); XIII, 83 (April, 1833); *Liberator*, I, 93 f. (June 11, 1831).

⁷² Henry Miles to Elihu Burritt, Monkton, Vt., Nov. 4, 1846 (Henry Miles MSS, Harvard); *Friends' Review*, I, 547 f. (May 20, 1848).

⁷³ Stephen "A" Beuron to G. W. Taylor, Bassa Cove [, Liberia], Nov. 1, 1848 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

Finally, the distribution of free labor goods through stores needs a brief summary.⁷⁴ The first known store was that of Benjamin Lundy and Michael Lamb, opened at Baltimore in 1826. It lasted about six months. Between that and the close of 1829 at least eight stores were opened in New York, Philadelphia, and New Jersey towns. Of these, only two had any permanence. In New York, Charles Collins had, according to his own statement, operated a free produce store since 1817, and he continued to do so until 1843 or later. James and Charles Pierce in Philadelphia maintained a store for some years. During 1830-31 nine more stores were opened.⁷⁵

Prominent among these stores was that of Lydia White, opened at Philadelphia in May, 1830. A Quaker of the Hicksite branch, she was for years one of the most zealous proponents of free labor. In 1831 she was receiving orders for goods from Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. She was also purchasing on her own initiative small amounts of cotton and having it manufactured. Of her activities she wrote, "I am increasingly desirous to do what I can in this way, to encourage the conscientious in abstinence from the products of the slaves' labor. . . ."⁷⁶ From 1838 to 1846 she acted as retail agent for the American Free Produce Association, while J. Miller McKim took care of the wholesale trade. She continued the work until early in 1846, when Joel Fisher bought out her store.

Between 1832 and 1837 only four new stores appeared. Of these, one kept by Joseph H. Beale in New York was advertised as a wholesale establishment.⁷⁷ Before 1840 six more stores, three of them in Philadelphia, two in Boston, and one in Lynn, Massachusetts, began operations. That of Charles Wise in Philadelphia continued until 1843.⁷⁸ The decade of the 1840's saw the opening of

⁷⁴ The Appendix gives a list of all stores which have come to the writer's attention.

⁷⁵ Charles Collins (1803-Oct. 12, 1878) declared in 1842 that he had conducted a free produce store for twenty-five years. If these dates are correct, he was only fourteen when he began business (*Friends' Intelligencer*, XXXV, 537, Oct. 12, 1878; *Liberator*, I, 87, May 28, 1831).

⁷⁶ *Liberator*, I, 87 (May 28, 1831). This issue quotes a letter from Lydia White to William Lloyd Garrison; *Pennsylvania Freeman*, April 11, 1844.

⁷⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, XIII, 83 (April, 1833); *Liberator*, IV, 103 (June 28, 1834). Beale was in business for at least two years, 1833-Jan., 1835.

⁷⁸ Charles Wise's store was in operation at the beginning of 1837 and

many small stores in the West. By 1845 there were five in Indiana.

The latter half of the decade witnessed considerable reorganization for more effective operation. During 1846 Joel Fisher acted as agent for the Philadelphia Free Produce Association. A better arrangement came about in 1847, when George W. Taylor bought him out and made Philadelphia the center of both wholesale and retail trade. Taylor continued in business until 1867. Under the auspices of the New York Free Produce Association, Lindley Murray Hoag and George Wood opened a store at New York in January, 1848. They soon became so discouraged that in September of the same year Robert Lindley Murray took over the work. He continued until February, 1852, when his foreman, Ezra Towne, took charge of the store. Towne carried a stock of free labor groceries and some dry goods until 1860 or later.⁷⁹

In the West the Mount Pleasant Free Labor Company operated a retail store from 1848 to 1863. The only wholesale agency was that of Levi Coffin begun at Cincinnati in 1847 and continued for ten years. There were doubtless many more stores than those here mentioned, and even more general merchants who kept small stocks of free labor goods to meet the demands of their Quaker customers.⁸⁰

possibly earlier. Wise (1811-June 29, 1895) belonged to various anti-slavery societies and was active in Underground Railroad work.

⁷⁹ Robert Lindley Murray (Nov. 11, 1825-Aug. 29, 1874), the son of Robert I. Murray and Elizabeth (Colden) Murray, was born in New York City. He was educated at Friends' schools and Haverford College. He engaged for a time in the wool trade and later entered the insurance business. Besides his great interest and activity in the free produce cause, he participated in many other philanthropic measures and devoted much time to religious matters. He died as the result of a fall from his carriage (*Friends' Review*, XXVIII, 91, Sept. 26, 1874; *From under His Wings: A Sketch of the Life of Robert Lindley Murray*, New York, 1876, pp. 56, 60 f., 65).

⁸⁰ Most of the information concerning stores has necessarily been gathered from their advertisements, which obviously are not entirely a satisfactory source. The nonappearance of a given store's advertisement cannot be taken as proof that the store went out of business. Advertising appeared, furthermore, only in sympathetic journals, and that in newspapers was almost entirely local. If a paper changed its policy, the free produce stores stopped advertising. This was the case in the *Liberator* and to some extent in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*. The chief source of information for the entire West is the *Free Labor Advocate* (1841-48).

CHAPTER V

GEORGE W. TAYLOR AND HIS WORK

No one was more faithful in the free produce cause than George W. Taylor. From 1845 onward and especially after 1847 he devoted his whole time, energy, and capital to promotion of the cause. He conducted the free produce store in Philadelphia for twenty years (1847-67) and bore the brunt of all the difficulties in obtaining goods, the complaints of customers, the delays, disappointments, and the financial sacrifices involved. Taylor was a careful businessman with some experience in merchandising before he opened his free produce store. It was due to his careful attention to details and his keen business judgment that the enterprise was kept going at all.

George Washington Taylor (March 14, 1803-January 10, 1891) was born in Radnor, Pennsylvania, the son of Jacob Taylor (1772-1866) and Elizabeth Richards Taylor (1776-1868). His mother was the daughter of David and Elizabeth (Megee) Richards, of Welsh descent, and of strong Quaker antecedents. Taylor's paternal grandfather was Francis Taylor, born at Staines near London, the son of Richard and Mary Taylor. Francis Taylor came to America before the Revolution, married Eve Fisler, a Dutch woman, and settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, where their ten children were born.

George W. Taylor was the oldest of Jacob and Elizabeth Taylor's seven children. His father kept a country store at Kaolin, Chester County, in which George assisted when he became old enough. He grew up in a strongly religious atmosphere, although neither parent was a communicant of any church until 1815, when George and his mother became members of the Society of Friends at New Garden, Pennsylvania, as did all his brothers and sisters in later years. His father attended meetings but never became a member.

Taylor's mother made special exertions to see that her children were educated. George as a small boy was a diligent student and usually led his class. The local teachers were soon not qualified to give him further instruction, whereupon he entered Enoch Lewis's

school, which was nearby. Enoch Lewis, one of the most distinguished Quaker teachers of his day, was an expert mathematician. After two quarters under Lewis, George Taylor taught school, earning enough to attend Enoch Lewis's classes for eight months together where he "completed a full and thorough course in mathematics and was qualified to teach all its branches."

During his youth Taylor exhibited a strongly religious turn of mind. Soon after becoming a Friend, he adopted Quaker dress and wore "plain coats" the rest of his life. Some years later he felt it his duty "to use the plain language grammatically . . . though it was much in the cross." At about the age of twenty he began to speak in meeting, although he found it a great trial. His temperance and anti-slavery principles developed at about the same time.

After completing his schooling with Enoch Lewis, Taylor began to teach in his home neighborhood. Very shortly, however, he was offered a position in a Friends' boarding school at Flushing, Long Island. He went there about 1827 and remained until 1829, when he resigned and took an extensive trip to western Pennsylvania and Ohio. There he visited numerous aunts, uncles, and cousins.

After teaching another school in rooms above his father's store, Taylor in 1830 accepted a position at Westtown School, near Philadelphia, where he remained for two sessions. On September 15, 1831, he married Elizabeth Sykes, who had also been a teacher there. They removed to her home locality of Burlington, New Jersey, where George took over the Friends' Preparative Meeting School. He continued teaching until the heavy work affected his health, and in 1834 he accepted "the agency of The Friends Bible and Tract Association and the publishing agency of *The Friend*." To these activities Taylor soon added bookbinding. These occupations he pursued with considerable success until he took over the free produce store in 1847, which did not close its doors until 1867.

Meantime Taylor's wife, who was some years older than he, died on December 24, 1859. On October 12, 1864, he married Ruth Leeds, and in 1867 moved to his parents' farm, which he had bought after his father's death. There he carried on farming and dairying. Ruth Leeds Taylor died on April 24, 1881. On May 27, 1885, Taylor married Elizabeth Burton, a woman several years younger than he. She survived his death on January 10, 1891, at the age of eighty-seven.¹

¹ George Washington Taylor, *Autobiography and Writings of George W.*

Taylor's activities in conducting his free produce business fall into several categories, which will be discussed in turn. After 1849 he was responsible for finding supplies of free labor products, although the Philadelphia association helped him to the extent of financing his trip to the West Indies, and of sending Nathan Thomas to procure cotton. Taylor, however, was personally responsible for getting the cotton manufactured. He endeavored to supply the entire market for free labor cotton cloth, assisted to a limited degree by Levi Coffin, who had a few varieties of coarse cloth manufactured in the West. Free labor groceries were supplied chiefly through the New York store whose proprietor sold wholesale to Taylor. Factors in his retail trade were the limited demand for and supply of goods, the efforts to satisfy customers, and the financial limitations of the business. Taylor also did a mail order business with individuals and small groups of Friends. All this involved a vast amount of correspondence, while the store demanded much detailed work in packing and shipping orders. In the latter Taylor of course had help. Besides, he was Secretary of the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association, he had other philanthropic interests, and he was always active in a religious capacity, all of which made him a very busy man.

At the beginning of 1853 Taylor purchased his business location on the northwest corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, for \$8,500, which he considered a reasonable price. He had twenty feet fronting on Fifth Street and sixty-seven on Cherry. He then erected a four-story building on the portion of the ground not already covered by a building of similar height. The new structure served as his residence while he remained in the free produce business.²

From the very outset manufacturing presented difficulties. In 1847 the Manufacturing Committee of the Philadelphia association reported that they found several manufacturers who would agree to use free labor cotton exclusively in their mills, but few who would clear their machinery in order to run through a few bales of cotton. Those who would do so could turn out only a limited variety of

Taylor (Philadelphia, 1891), pp. 5, 17, 18, 39, 46, and *passim*; and information furnished by Francis R. Taylor of Philadelphia. George W. Taylor wrote this account of his life in 1887.

²G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne, Jan. 31, 1853, June 19, 1854 (*Taylor Letterbooks*, I, 136, 388). The building erected by Taylor is still standing.

goods. Furthermore, the association never had funds enough to buy sufficient cotton to keep several mills at capacity operation. The committee made such arrangements as it could in the face of these handicaps.³

Constant inquiries frequently brought to light mills with apparently encouraging possibilities. One such was the mill of Job Eddy at New Bedford, Massachusetts. He used about 300 bales of cotton a year in making common and coarse cloth. In 1849 he was willing to take thirty bales of free labor cotton at 8¼ cents for manufacture into printing cloths at 4¼ cents per yard.⁴ Since most mills could not restrict themselves to free labor cotton, Taylor frequently sent his cotton to be run through as a unit, but without clearing the machinery, so that at the beginning and end of the run it was mixed with the slave labor cotton. He then took only that cloth which was unmixed. When one mill refused to take as small an amount as fourteen bales he tried another, explaining how badly he needed fine shirting and sheeting.⁵

Early in 1853 Taylor sought out a manufacturer who had formerly printed calicoes for him and was now in that business again. In making his inquiries as to prices, etc., Taylor remarked that he was not satisfied with much of the printing he had done in this country, while that done in England was too costly.⁶ Plainness of dress was one of the strong Quaker testimonies; hence colors and designs in cloth were somewhat limited. The distinctive Quaker colors were drab, brown, and gray, while patterns in calicoes and ginghams must be small, neat, and "quiet." There was no sale for the various shades of blue, to say nothing of reds, greens, yellows, or purples. Taylor had much trouble in getting suitable patterns and colors, especially in the goods made in England.

Manufacture of goods in Britain bulked large in Taylor's affairs for a number of years. As early as 1847 the Philadelphia associa-

³ Report of the Manufacturing Committee to the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association, April 16, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁴ William C. Taber to G. W. Taylor, New Bedford [, Mass.], Feb. 24, 1849 (G. W. Taylor MSS). Printing cloth was the unfinished material which, when printed, became calico. Taylor usually had the printing done himself in order to obtain colors and designs suited to his customers.

⁵ G. W. Taylor to Joseph Bancroft, Sept. 4, 1852; G. W. Taylor to Gideon C. Smith, July 29, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 1, 32 f.). Smith's mill was at Pawtucket, R. I.

⁶ G. W. Taylor to Isaac P. Wendall, March 8, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 170)

tion sent some cotton to Liverpool with a view to having it manufactured in England.⁷ How much of this was done prior to 1852 cannot be indicated for want of records. But in that year Taylor was having part of his manufacturing done by Josias F. Browne and Company of Manchester. Browne, a Quaker much interested in the free labor cause, was a leader of the movement in England. He doubtless did the best he could, but the results were often far from what Taylor needed. Terminology in the two countries differed, so that when Taylor would ask for a particular cloth by name, Browne would send something entirely different. Colors and patterns were often unsuitable, and occasionally goods arrived in a damaged condition, as the result of poor packing or imperfect printing. In commenting on such a circumstance Taylor wrote: "... the printed linen cambrics . . . appear to be very badly printed . . . so much so that ladies who wanted dresses of them would not take them on that account. . . . My customers are exceedingly particular."⁸

Another difficulty was the impossibility of getting goods when they were needed. Seasonal demands required a good stock of spring and fall goods, to arrive about March and September, respectively. Delays, unavoidable or otherwise, in Browne's shipments often resulted in their arrival months after they were needed. This meant that Taylor would have to hold them over until the next season, a procedure which helped to tie up his limited capital. Somehow, one hundred bales of cotton which R. L. Murray had shipped to Liverpool early in 1852, did not reach those who were to manufacture it; hence this seriously curtailed the supply of goods for the fall trade.⁹ In December, 1852, Taylor began to be anxious about his goods for the spring trade. He had been much handicapped up to that time by having no canton flannel for his fall trade. It seemed impossible for him to make Browne & Company understand what that particular cloth was and his urgent need for it. In December he implored Browne to let him know what kinds of cloths were in preparation for spring, and tried to impress upon him the great need for "a

⁷ John H. Krafft to Samuel Rhoads, Memphis, Tenn., March 19, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁸ G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne & Co., Aug. 10, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 5). Correspondence over this lot of damaged goods continued for over a year, while Taylor tried to sell the items as best he could (*idem* to *idem*, Nov. 1, 1853).

⁹ G. W. Taylor to Ezra Towne, Oct. 16, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 54).

supply of pant stuff," while, he added, "the Delains will be out of season I fear altogether."¹⁰

By the middle of February, 1853, Taylor was assured of a reasonably good supply of staple spring goods from England. Even so, he still looked anxiously for other needed items, and found on the receipt of some that they were badly damaged from inadequate packing. In an effort to supply the deficiencies Taylor sent twelve bales of cotton to Browne with instructions to manufacture it and ship back the goods as soon as they were ready. But the delay seriously handicapped him, and so Taylor warned Josias Browne that he could not advance money for purchasing cotton, hence some other arrangement must be made.¹¹ For his fall trade Taylor received a shipment of goods from John Wingrave, a manufacturer of Carlisle, England. But this was quite insufficient in amount and variety. At the first of October, 1853, Taylor was still looking in vain for fall goods from Josias Browne and then wrote in desperation to know what had become of the goods which were to have been made from cotton he had shipped the preceding February. When a shipment did arrive some days later, Taylor was still impelled to write: "I have suffered heavily in my small business and the cause has been much dampened by the non arrival of Prints medium shirtings, sheetings, Canton flannel, drillings, coloured sewing cotton, hosiery and a variety of articles much wanted besides."¹²

Early in 1854 Taylor shipped fifteen bales of free labor cotton to John Wingrave, part of which he wanted made up into 3,000 yards of "grandrills or heavy twilled stuff (of cotton) for pantaloons for working men and boys." Throughout the spring and summer Taylor continued to urge Browne to send goods and send them quickly. The expense of shipping the cotton to England, plus

¹⁰ G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne & Co., Dec. 14, 1852, Jan. 11, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 106). Canton flannel, a heavy cotton material, twilled on one side and with a nap on the other, was widely used for underclothing, especially in the West. Heavy cotton cloth for making men's work trousers was an indispensable item for the spring trade. Delaine was a light weight wool or wool and cotton cloth for women's dresses. It was an item for Taylor's fall trade which did not arrive until January.

¹¹ G. W. Taylor to Joel Parker, Feb. 15, 1853, G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne & Co., Feb. 22, March 1, July 18, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 142, 158, 161, 250).

¹² G. W. Taylor to John Wingrave, Sept. 2, 1853; G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne & Co., Oct. 4, Oct. [n.d.], 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 270, 278, 282).

a duty of 30 per cent on the manufactured goods, added greatly to the cost and was a major handicap to the movement.¹³

The many difficulties connected with manufacturing, whether it was done in this country or in England, soon convinced Taylor that the only satisfactory solution would be a mill under his own control to make at least the coarser and heavier fabrics so much in demand. He began to work toward this end in 1853, but the great impediment was of course lack of capital. Taylor made a thorough investigation of the possibilities and found that about fifteen thousand dollars would be necessary. At about this time Elihu Burritt, while promoting the cause in England, had enlisted the interest of Harriet Beecher Stowe and her husband Calvin Ellis Stowe. Taylor, taking advantage of this circumstance, wrote to Calvin Stowe summarizing past efforts in the free produce cause and explaining the need for a mill. Taylor hoped for "much aid from his influential exertions."¹⁴

His first plans for a mill developed so slowly that Taylor often felt deeply discouraged, but at about that time one or two prominent Friends came to him voluntarily, inquired about the mill project, and offered their services in advancing the cause. All these events served to give Taylor fresh hope.¹⁵ Then in May, 1854, he had an opportunity to lease a small mill for \$1,180 a year. It would be superintended and operated by the owner, Henry Webster, who would receive \$500 for management, \$500 for the mill, and \$180 for machinery already installed. If \$10,000 could be raised, Taylor felt that he could undertake the enterprise and guarantee subscribers 6 per cent on their investment. With this in view he again appealed to Calvin Stowe, who later subscribed \$500. Within a short time finances were so encouraging that Taylor went ahead with ordering the machinery.¹⁶ The mill was located in Chester County, Pennsylvania, about forty miles from Philadelphia. Some of the ma-

¹³ G. W. Taylor to John Wingrave, Feb. 3, 1854; G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne, April 24, May 2, 1854 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 304, 369, 371).

¹⁴ G. W. Taylor to Calvin Ellis Stowe, April 4, 1854; G. W. Taylor to Elihu Burritt, April 8, 1854 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 352 ff., 357). The Stowes were touring England, where Mrs. Stowe was being received with great acclaim.

¹⁵ G. W. Taylor to Elihu Burritt, April 8, 1854 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 358).

¹⁶ G. W. Taylor to Calvin E. Stowe, May 12, Oct. 31, 1854; G. W. Taylor to Henry Webster, May 26, 1854 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 376, 382; II, 41).

chinery was ordered at home, while part of it was imported from England. By early August, Taylor managed to send a few bales of cotton to the mill. Throughout the autumn machinery was received and installed, but delays postponed operations considerably. The total cost of machinery was about \$12,000, of which almost \$9,000 was subscribed by friends of the cause.¹⁷

With the beginning of 1855 the mill got fairly into operation under the management of Henry Webster. The plant was equipped for only spinning and weaving, while sizing, bleaching, printing, and other operations had to be arranged for elsewhere. Besides, one B. J. Shreve in Philadelphia did at his mill considerable weaving for Taylor.¹⁸ Even after the essential machinery was in operation, Taylor found that much other equipment was very desirable though not absolutely necessary. Among the later installations was a Jacquard loom on which cotton table damask was woven. Taylor encountered many vexations before this piece was finally installed. A doubler and twister was necessary for making heavy yarns, while a balling machine and a spooling machine were used in the final preparations of knitting cotton and sewing thread respectively. It was also essential to have some machinery for working up wool, since Taylor found it advisable to make mixed wool and cotton cloths (called satinets and cashmerettes) for men's trousers.¹⁹

At the end of 1856 Taylor was for the first time able to see what the mill had accomplished during a full year's operation. The results were not very encouraging, for there was "some loss." "We only spun about 70 bales the whole year," he added, and the "whole amt of goods recd. from Mill in 1856 is only \$9,481.43." Taylor's chief hope was that with all business on a rising market, he might do better in 1857.²⁰ Business during the spring was quite brisk so that Taylor's stock on hand was appreciably reduced. In the

¹⁷ G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, June 12, 1854; *idem* to R. Garsed and Bro., June 24; *idem* to Whiting & Sons, June 29; *idem* to Henry Webster, Aug. 7, Nov. 1; *idem* to R. Garsed, Nov. 7; *idem* to James B. Wright, Sept. 9; *idem* to Elihu Burritt, Oct. 26; *idem* to J. H. Krafft, Nov. 21, 1854; *idem* to Gideon C. Smith, July 7, 1856 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 385, 394, 396; II, 13, 23, 31, 36, 42, 44, 47, 52, 307).

¹⁸ G. W. Taylor to B. J. Shreve, Dec. 4, 1855 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 118).

¹⁹ G. W. Taylor to Henry Webster, Dec. 21, 1855, Jan. 10, 1856, Aug. 3, 1857 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 134 f., 147, 443).

²⁰ G. W. Taylor to Henry Webster, Jan. 21, 1857 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 376).

summer of 1857 he requested and was given authority to use \$400 of the "wear and tear fund" to put in sizing apparatus at the mill.²¹ This was not installed, however.

By the middle of September, 1857, the panic of that year was nearly upon Philadelphia. Since he had no cotton on hand, Taylor decided to close the mill and await developments. On September 25 most local banks suspended specie payment; as a result, Taylor was unable to meet the wages due his hands. He proposed that they take some of the cloth on hand which they could barter in the local stores for groceries. He was anxious for his employees to find other work, especially at farm labor and domestic service, which were yet much in demand. Another problem was deterioration of the machinery if the mill stood idle. Taylor hoped that by keeping two or three employees they could maintain the machinery in running order and finish off the goods in hand.²²

Since there was very little business during the winter, Taylor spent most of the time in getting his accounts and books up to date. With sales so very slow, he departed from his cash policy and sent goods to a few storekeepers to be paid for as they were able.²³ Not until the spring of 1859 did business begin to pick up appreciably. By this time Taylor's stock of goods was so much reduced that he could plan to reopen the mill. On February 9 he ordered cotton valued at \$500, and about April the mill was again in operation. Taylor and Webster curtailed the variety of goods and strove to make only what was certain to sell, so that no large stock would accumulate. The fall trade showed a decided improvement, and the mill remained in full operation.²⁴ Business continued in a modest way for another year or more. As late as February, 1861, Taylor ordered cotton from Thomas Leech in Memphis. Doubtless the mill had to stop sometime in 1861 because the war had cut off the supply of free labor cotton. In the summer of 1862 Taylor put up the mill machinery for sale.²⁵

²¹ G. W. Taylor to Calvin E. Stowe, June 15, 1857 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 433). The "wear and tear fund" was a portion of the capital set aside for upkeep of the machinery.

²² G. W. Taylor to Henry Webster, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 12, 1857 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 469, 473, 479).

²³ G. W. Taylor to Griffith Levering, May 18, 1858; *idem* to Robert Fraizer, Aug. 27, 1858 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 521, 533).

²⁴ G. W. Taylor to Thomas Leech, Feb. 9, 1859; *idem* to Henry Webster, April 4, May 23, Nov. 25, 1859 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 548, 552, 562, 601).

²⁵ G. W. Taylor to Thomas Leech & Co., Feb. 11, 1861; Condensed

While his chief labors were devoted to the drygoods department, food products had a share of his attention. For sugar Taylor relied chiefly on Robert Lindley Murray, the proprietor of the New York free produce store from 1848 to 1852. He looked after the refining which was done chiefly by "Stuarts." Varieties of sugar are rather bewildering. Among those referred to were, crushed, pulverized, loaf, A, B, C, yellow, and brown.²⁶ The supply was never steady so that Taylor alternated between having almost no sugar and having an overstock, which required a heavy financial outlay on short notice. R. L. Murray, a young man without wide business experience, sometimes made errors of judgment in handling the sugar trade and often failed to accomplish what was needed. In August, 1852, Taylor was particularly anxious to secure a cargo of Manila sugar, even if the refiners charged a little more for it. A short time later when Taylor had opened his last barrel of sugar he wrote again begging Murray to get fifty barrels of "Laguayra Sugar" which was soon to be sold in New York.²⁷

One reason for his shortage at this time was the partial failure of the St. Croix sugar crop. He did succeed in getting some from St. Lucia, and a little later received ten hogsheads of St. Croix sugar. Still his supply was so incomplete that he urged Ezra Towne to ship some by rail.²⁸ All these vexations led Taylor to send his complaints to the refiners, lamenting "the serious loss to me & sad disappointment to *all* my customers resulting from the failure to furnish a supply of Refined Sugars—I fear [he added] many 'have gone back to walk no more with us' It wd have been better for me to have lost in the River 200 Dolls than to have had this to occur—yes, 500!"²⁹

Inventory of Machinery for Sale in Bulk, n.d. (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 633, 651).

²⁶ G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, Aug. 3, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 3). The refiners were R. L. & A. Stuart.

²⁷ G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, Aug. 10, 21, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 8, 15).

²⁸ G. W. Taylor to Joel Parker, Sept. 11, 1852; *idem* to George B. DeForest & Co., Sept. 23, 1852; *idem* to Ezra Towne, Oct. 16, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 37, 41, 53). The bill for his sugar, including freight and cartage, was \$992.28. Shipments from New York Taylor instructed to have sent by sea, by steamboat through the canal, or by railroad, depending on the bulk of the articles and the urgency of his need for them.

²⁹ G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, Oct. 29, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 60).

As if this were not trouble enough, Taylor next received an unusually large shipment of sugar which, through either defective refining or improper packing, had a very disagreeable taste and odor. Whereupon Taylor asked Murray how he could

. . . take such a lot of sugar off the hands of the refiner as this lot of yellow and still more . . . send such a quantity of it to me without sending samples— . . . as the sugars were sent to me without seeing them . . . it seems clear to me I am not bound to keep them & therefore object to bearing the loss on them . . . I never wd have suffered the refiner to put shugar in fish barrels or butter barrels, or . . . whatever they are . . . The best I can say now is, . . . let it . . . sell . . . for so much as it may be worth, if not, it is at thy risk, and in the mean time I pay nothing on its account further than the sugar will sell. . . .³⁰

Taylor enlisted Elihu Burritt's aid in trying to procure free labor sugar from England, Holland, or France, in the hope of getting it there cheaper in spite of the 30 per cent duty. In discussing the matter Taylor described his present stock and its cost as follows:

Best steam refined crushed, sifted, and pulverized sugar at $7\frac{1}{2}$ -
 $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb.
 "A" sugar (white soft crushed) 8 cents.
 "B" sugar (yellowish ") $7\frac{5}{8}$.
 Good steam syrup, 40-42 cents per gallon, and no extra charge
 for barrels or casks.

If an arrangement could be made abroad, Taylor stipulated that he alone must receive such free labor sugar, in order to avoid confusion as to its being a genuine free labor product. Nothing ever came of this project.³¹

In the spring of 1853 Taylor suddenly had thrust upon him \$7,000 worth of sugar, which was about twice the amount he expected and consequently tied up his funds. In this predicament he asked Levi Coffin and Joel Parker whether they could help him out either by taking some sugar and molasses, or by advancing money

³⁰ G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, Nov. 22, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 81). Discussion of this matter continued by correspondence for some months and reached a point of considerable asperity. At the end of Feb., 1853, Taylor had sold about one third of it by mixing it with other sugar.

³¹ G. W. Taylor to Elihu Burritt, April 5, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 183).

which would be returned to them in fall goods.³² This unhappy circumstance led Taylor to ask Murray for a clarification of the whole arrangement. He had proceeded on the assumption that Murray charged one-fourth cent per pound for his services in looking after the refining and holding the sugar until needed, just as Taylor himself did in providing the supply of cotton cloth. He asked whether business should proceed on this basis or whether Murray preferred to act merely as an agent. Taylor complained that during a season of low sugar prices Murray was furnishing sugar only at prices so high they would impede sales.³³ Taylor kept up his contacts in St. Croix and bought sugar directly from there as he had opportunity to do so. Early in 1854 he ordered twenty hogsheads of sugar and forty of molasses of the new crop in St. Croix.³⁴

Beginning in 1855 sugar became high in price and quite scarce. Taylor was often out of stock completely and experienced many difficulties in this connection. By special effort he managed to obtain a small supply of sugar to tide over the two yearly meeting sessions in April, 1856, but throughout the summer and into "preserving time" in August and September Taylor continued to be almost without sugar. He anticipated that this shortage would cost him \$1,000 worth of trade.³⁵ Even through the panic years of 1857-58 sugar continued to be scarce and relatively high. In fact, after 1855 Taylor never had a really adequate supply of free labor sugar.

Occasionally Taylor referred to his efforts to obtain and sell other products for which there was a limited demand. He was particularly anxious to obtain products from Liberia, since that country was looked upon as the experimental laboratory where the Negro's ability would be proved. Commenting on products received

³² G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, May 25, 1853; *idem* to Levi Coffin and Joel Parker, May 24, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 228, 233).

³³ G. W. Taylor to R. L. Murray, Nov. 31 [*sic*], 1852, April 14, 1854 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 86, 363).

³⁴ G. W. Taylor to George Walker, March 5, 1853, April 4, 1854 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 168, 348).

³⁵ G. W. Taylor to Esther C. Lloyd, Jan. 7, 1856; *idem* to C. H. and W. G. Moore, Jan. 28, 1856; *idem* to Ezra Towne, April 7, 1856; *idem* to R. L. Murray, Sept. 4, 13, 1856 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 144, 169, 234, 333). Both Orthodox and Hicksite yearly meetings convened at Philadelphia in April. Taylor always had heavy sales at this time to the many out-of-town Friends in attendance.

from Liberia, Taylor wrote that "the last parcel of Coffee though handsome, has not the flavour that pleases my former customers" and suggested starting orchards of the best variety of Java coffee. Taylor was slowly selling Liberia arrowroot "at a low price," but found that druggists refused it because it was not from Bermuda. A short time later he shipped a fan "for cleaning Coffee & Rice" to Liberia. The next year he was receiving small quantities of pepper from Liberia.

In connection with rice, Taylor remarked in 1852 that he was obtaining East India rice, "delivered in my store a trifle under four cents pr lb of good quality & well cleaned."³⁶ Some of this rice he got through Josias F. Browne in England. In 1853 Taylor established direct contact with a merchant in Calcutta, with the hope of obtaining rice as well as other products. The arrangements were not always satisfactory, for on occasion Taylor had to complain that there "was a great want of care in the selection of the Rice," much of which he found "very poor, dark & dirty"; whereupon he ordered "one ton of the Best quality" with the stipulation that each bag be examined.³⁷ Spices also figured among the minor food products, but after emancipation in the British colonial possessions the question of supply presented no particular difficulties.

As Taylor proceeded in the work, he more and more felt the need of larger capital. His favorite hope was enlisting the interests of British capitalists sufficiently to insure a large supply of cotton. This dream was never realized to any appreciable extent.³⁸ When his mill was opened, a separate fund was raised for the purchase of cotton. This helped considerably, but Taylor was seldom able to buy more than from \$600 to \$1,000 worth of cotton at one order, and he often had to place orders at inconvenient times, such as late spring and summer, when free labor cotton was difficult to get. While machinery for the mill was financed chiefly by subscription, still at the last moment unexpected expenses necessitated Taylor's putting about \$2,000 of his own money into it. On later occasions,

³⁶ G. W. Taylor to S. A. Benson, Nov. 17, 1852, Oct. 31, 1853; *idem* to James Hall, May 30, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 75 ff., 236, 284). Benson was the president of Liberia.

³⁷ G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne & Co., March 18, Oct. [n.d.], 1853; *idem* to Henry Libbery, April 5, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 175, 187, 282).

³⁸ G. W. Taylor to Elihu Burritt, April 5, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 185 f.).

too, he found it necessary to draw on his other investments to keep the free labor enterprise going.³⁹ Before the mill began to bring in any returns Taylor was unusually hard pressed. He first tried unsuccessfully to borrow \$3,000 on his real estate, and then asked a few of his wholesale customers whether they could advance money to be paid in spring goods.⁴⁰ Samuel Rhoads and Richard Richardson acted as trustees for the machinery and cotton funds, so that after 1855 all cotton purchases were made in their names.⁴¹

Even in its best year (1856) the mill showed a loss rather than any profits. Its closure in October, 1857, of course cut off any hope of profits that year, while rent and interest went on, although many of the subscribers relinquished their claims for payment of interest, and Henry Webster, too, was very considerate. Taylor figured that the eighteen months stoppage ran to an actual loss of nearly \$6,000, including that portion absorbed by the subscribers. When the five-year lease expired in 1859, Webster agreed to renew it for one year on the same terms. Later renewals were probably on a one-year basis.⁴²

Taylor's relations with the labor employed in his small mill is a matter of some interest. Employment was largely on a family basis, so that men, women, and children were used as operatives. Henry Webster owned the houses which the employees occupied; beyond that the paternalistic system apparently did not operate. Taylor's chief complaint was of imperfections in the weaving. "Floats" and bad selvages were the chief defects. After one or two unhappy experiences Taylor and Henry Webster agreed on dismissing any employees who brought liquor near the mill.⁴³ Taylor's concern for the welfare of his labor when the mill closed has been alluded to.

The demand for free labor goods is somewhat difficult to assess. Demand would have been greater if the supply had been more

³⁹ G. W. Taylor to Josias F. Browne & Co., May 7, 1855; *idem* to William Armistead, Nov. 29, 1855 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 83-85, 104).

⁴⁰ G. W. Taylor to Dade C. Street, Nov. 25, 1855; *idem* to Allen Sampson, Nov. 25, 1855 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 106, 108).

⁴¹ G. W. Taylor to J. H. Krafft, March 25, 1846 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 226).

⁴² G. W. Taylor to Henry Webster, May 23, Sept. 2, 1859 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 562, 585).

⁴³ G. W. Taylor to Henry Webster, Feb. 25, 1856 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 191). "Floats" are filling threads not properly interwoven with the warp.

adequate and satisfactory, while, on the other hand, the supply could have been greatly increased if there had been sufficient demand to justify large-scale operations. Demand for the most part was confined to Quakers—and only a portion of them—to a few earnest abolitionists of other denominations, and to those influenced by Quaker thought. Chief deterrents were the inadequate and uncertain supply of goods, their inferior quality and higher price, and suspicion on the part of the customers. All, and especially the country folk of the West, constantly questioned the genuineness of free labor goods offered them. They distrusted the clever merchants of the distant and wicked Eastern cities. Hence Taylor had constantly to reassure them on this score.

The best market for free labor goods, even so, was in the West. As early as 1846 Levi Coffin wrote of the growing demand. Up to that time he had resisted importunities to conduct a free produce store because of his own small means and the limited variety of goods available.⁴⁴ Taylor's work and the efforts of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association considerably increased the supply, while strict integrity and constant assurances largely overcame suspicion as to the authenticity of goods sold.

Taylor's mail-order business to individuals and groups never assumed very large proportions, but some instances may be noted. To the many inquiries about how to order goods, Taylor responded with minute instructions on how to fill out orders, how to send money, and how to pay shipping charges. He made a practice of selling at wholesale prices to groups of Friends who would unite to send in one large order when there was no free produce store nearby. Individual orders were at retail prices. By April, 1853, Taylor could report that his store "had a pretty brisk trade in our small way this Spring & my stock is considerably broken. . . ." He described his trade as extending through all the Northern states from Maine to Iowa. Among his steady customers were Friends in Columbiana County, Ohio, and members of the Alum Creek (Ohio) Free Produce Association.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, Newport, Ind., March 4, 1846; J. M. Thistlethwaite to G. W. Taylor, Millville, N. Y., Nov. 3, 1846 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁴⁵ G. W. Taylor to Henry Pyle, March 7, 1853; *idem* to Jabez Coulm, March 11, 1853; *idem* to Levi Coffin & Co., April 6, 1853; *idem* to Griffith Levering and Abraham Jackson, Jan. 27, 1853; *idem* to A. S. Leavitt, June 27, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 172 f., 189, 131-133, 247).

Taylor's stock of unsaleable and hard-to-sell goods ran high in proportion to his entire business. This entailed much trouble, no profit, and frequent loss. In 1852 he offered Levi Coffin \$1,500 worth of satinets at a "very low price," and fifty pieces of printed cotton in seventeen patterns, at 28 cents per yard cash, because, as he explained, "the figures are too large for my customers." The price was low, and, he added, "I think it likely you could do well with them in your location." Taylor had to confess, however, that his stock of unsaleable goods was "constantly increasing," as a result, he feared, of his trying to provide a large variety. This situation was somewhat alleviated after Taylor began to manufacture his own goods.⁴⁶

That most free labor products of all kinds were higher in price than ordinary goods was always one of the great handicaps in the cause, especially in the West, where people, on the whole, had less money to spend. Levi Coffin thought that the first need was for "cheap prints, Calicoes that would cost in Phil from eight to 12 or 14 cents per yd . . .," while brown muslin was next in demand. One storekeeper in Ohio wrote in 1847 that free labor cotton prints were getting steadily worse in quality and color and would not sell at all. He hoped the Philadelphia association would succeed in improving things.⁴⁷ Even when they did so, there were still complaints, as Taylor testified when he wrote:

I am sorry the *new* styles of Prints do not please thee— . . . I got up some time ago a large assortment of the prettiest styles I could— Well the general cry was, they are too *light* and not *plain enough*— Now I have aimed to have them *dark & plain* too, & yet they will not do—I believe I shall get the *plain unbleached* muslin & let every one print to her own taste—. . .⁴⁸

After Taylor's mill got into operation he was able to supply several kinds of goods at market prices, although others had to remain a little higher.⁴⁹ Inferior quality was always a great handicap.

⁴⁶ G. W. Taylor to Levi T. Pennington, Aug. 16, 1852; *idem* to Levi Coffin & Co., Aug. 16, 1852; *idem* to R. L. Murray, Nov. 31 [*sic*], 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 12 f., 86).

⁴⁷ Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, Newport, Ind., March 4, 1846; W. R. Wheeler to G. W. Taylor, West Elkton, Ohio, May 28, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

⁴⁸ G. W. Taylor to Richard Mann, March 18, 1857 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 391 f.).

⁴⁹ G. W. Taylor to Ezra Towne, Sept. 4, 1852 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 31).

Defective weaving, ugly patterns, and colors that faded were almost more than even conscientious Quaker women could endure. On this matter Lucretia Mott wrote:

. . . unfortunately, free sugar was not always as free from other taints as from that of slavery; and free calicoes could seldom be called handsome, even by the most enthusiastic; free umbrellas were hideous to look upon, and free candies, an abomination.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Ann Davis Hallowell, *Life and Letters of James and Lucretia Mott*, pp. 87 f.

CHAPTER VI

PROPAGANDA AND THE PRESS

Like all reforms, the free produce movement had its propaganda, chiefly in the form of tracts and journalistic publicity. Newspaper and periodical publications devoted mainly to its advocacy were comparatively few. Journals which gave the free labor principle their endorsement and occasional space in their columns were more numerous, however. Possibly the first newspaper to carry an article condemning the use of slave produce was the *West Chester Recorder* (Pennsylvania) of 1817 or 1818, of which there is apparently no extant file. Its article, "Prize Goods Examined," was copied, however, by the *Philanthropist* of February 7, 1818. This *Philanthropist* was published from August 29, 1817, to October 8, 1818, by Charles Osborn in Mount Pleasant, Ohio. Osborn's conviction that it was wrong to use products of slave labor was stated in his editorial comment on the excerpt from the *West Chester Recorder*.¹

It was more than two years before this idea again came to the surface in a periodical publication. This time it was the *Emancipator*, published by Elihu Embree at Jonesboro, Tennessee, which, in the issues of July 31 and August 31, 1820, condemned as prize goods the slave and the products of his labor, thereby making the purchaser of those goods "a party in the slave trade."²

These first timid voices in the cause were soon to be supplanted by a stronger advocate in the person of Benjamin Lundy. He served his first journalistic apprenticeship under Charles Osborn, for whom he wrote editorials. When Osborn gave up the *Philanthropist* and moved to Indiana, Lundy was to have taken over the paper, but the Missouri question absorbed him and he did not return

¹ *Philanthropist* (Mount Pleasant, Ohio), Feb. 7, 1818. The Quakers' condemnation of war led to their refusal to accept prize goods which were the direct by-product of war. The parallel between slavery and slave labor goods was the original basis from which all later free produce arguments developed.

² *The Emancipator (Complete) Published by Elihu Embree, Jonesborough, Tennessee, 1820; a Reprint of the Emancipator, to Which Are Added a Biographical Sketch of Elihu Embree, Author and Publisher of the Emancipator, and Two Hitherto Unpublished Anti-slavery Memorials Bearing the Signature of Elihu Embree* (Nashville, Tenn., 1932), July 31, Aug. 31, 1820, pp. 63, 65.

to Ohio until 1820. There he found Elisha Bates editing the *Philanthropist*, but with scant attention to slavery. Lundy then began to publish the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. After eight issues in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, he removed it to Greeneville, Tennessee, to fill with his work and his paper the gap caused by the untimely death of Elihu Embree (in 1820) and the cessation of his *Emancipator*.

Between 1822 and 1825 the *Genius* carried three articles from correspondents touching the use of slave labor goods. Not until 1826, two years after his removal to Baltimore, did Lundy begin to give more attention to this subject by putting into his paper news about it.³ Articles were frequent from then until 1834, by which time the paper had declined because of Lundy's long absence in Texas. During a visit to New England in 1828 Lundy met William Lloyd Garrison, but not until the middle of 1829 did the two become associated in the publication of the *Genius*. Garrison's fiery words soon put him in jail. Thereafter each man went his own way, Lundy to pursue his milder and more cautious program, and Garrison to return to Boston and to begin to publish the *Liberator*.⁴

Even in their brief association Lundy's influence upon young Garrison had been very marked. The early volumes of the *Liberator* strongly reflect the kind of abolitionism Lundy was sponsoring. In the early days Garrison was ready to adopt any form of activity or organization which seemed likely to promote the abolition of slavery. The first volume of the *Liberator* (1831), a weekly of fifty-two issues totaling 208 pages, contains nineteen insertions of all kinds on the free labor subject. These include correspondence, editorials, verse, news items, and advertisements. The second volume (1832) contains nine articles of similar variety; Volume III has twelve, while Volume IV (1834) reaches a total of thirty-four items. Many of these are lengthy discussions of the free labor principle both by those who favored it and by its opponents.⁵

³ Benjamin Lundy, *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, Including His Journeys to Texas and Mexico; with a Sketch of Contemporary Events, and a Notice of the Revolution in Hayti*, compiled under the direction and on behalf of his children [by Thomas Earle] (Philadelphia, 1847), pp. 204, 212, 215; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, II, 84 (Dec., 1822); IV, 61 (Jan., 1825); 111 (Sept., 1825, supplement).

⁴ Lundy, *Life, Travels and Opinions*, pp. 28 f.

⁵ *Liberator* (Boston), I-IV, *passim* (1831-34).

There can be no doubt of Garrison's attitude toward the principle in these years. His editorial comments were not numerous, but they were emphatic, as the following extracts show:

. . . Slavery is a system of robbery, practised upon millions of our fellow beings— . . . The assertions which have been made are true—that the consumers of the productions of slave labor contribute to a fund for supporting slavery with all its abominations—that they are the Alpha and the Omega of the business—that the slave-dealer, the slave-holder, and the slave-driver, are virtually the agents of the consumer, for by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process—that we are called upon to refuse those articles of luxury, which are obtained at an absolute and lavish waste of the blood of our fellow men— . . .

. . . I say, then, that ENTIRE ABSTINENCE from the products of slavery is the duty of every individual. In no other way can our example or influence be exerted so beneficially. How many are there in the free states, who will gladly give a preference for those articles which are not tainted with oppression, even though at first they come a trifle higher than slave products? Let us open a market for free goods, and encourage conscientious planters to cultivate their lands by free labor. . . . Once bring free into competition with slave labor, and the present system of bondage will be speedily overthrown.⁶

Soon, however, Garrison turned his attention more and more to advocating immediate emancipation and denouncing colonization. It is difficult to establish just when he turned wholly away from the free labor principle as a means to advance the abolition of slavery. Certain it is, however, that his reversal had been accomplished by 1847, when he said that abstinence was a waste of time when strong and vital issues were at stake. He further asked, who but the abolitionist was so well entitled to use products of the slave's toil in whose behalf he was laboring? In later years the free labor idea was viewed even with ridicule, when Wendell Phillips Garrison wrote, "The Abolitionists proper, we repeat, although always stigmatized as impracticable, never mounted this hobby as if the battle-horse of victory."⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 65, 121 (April 23, July 31, 1831).

⁷ *Non-Slaveholder*, II, 85 (April, 1847); IV, 253 (Nov., 1849); Wendell Phillips Garrison, "Free Produce among the Quakers," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXII, 493 (Oct., 1868). Wendell Phillips Garrison was a son of William Lloyd Garrison.

The *Liberator* ceased about 1840 to be an organ sympathetic to free labor, but another journal, the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, was ready to open its columns to the cause. On August 3, 1836, Benjamin Lundy began to publish at Philadelphia the *National Enquirer and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty*,⁸ a general anti-slavery paper, which carried some free produce news. The first and second volumes contain about fifty articles and notices, most of them advertisements of free produce stores, while the third volume carries seventy such items. Lundy retired as editor on March 8, 1838. On March 15, 1838, the paper appeared as the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, published by the Executive Committee of the Eastern District Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania, under the editorship of John Greenleaf Whittier. During his incumbency, which continued until September 5, 1839, more than three hundred articles, notices, and advertisements appeared concerning the free produce movement. While most of these were advertisements and notices of meetings, the paper carried a full account of the Requisite Labor Convention, and had occasional articles of the tract variety, such as "Abstinence from the Fruits of Unrequited Toil," which came from the Buckingham Anti-Slavery Society. From September, 1840, to the end of 1841 the number of free produce notices totaled only 125.⁹

The close of 1841 saw the suspension of the paper as a weekly. The sponsors decided that the money used to sustain it might be better spent on lecturers, and so the paper was to be issued gratuitously from time to time. Under this arrangement five issues appeared between February and October, 1842; none seemed to appear in 1843. By the end of 1843 the Executive Committee of the Eastern District Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania changed its mind again and decided to publish the paper regularly. Beginning in January, 1844, it appeared twice a month under the editorship of J. Miller McKim and C. C. Burleigh. During the next two years 130 items concerned with free produce are to be found in its

⁸ Lundy, *Life, Travels and Opinions*, p. 289; *National Enquirer and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty*, Aug. 3, 1836. Most of the information in this chapter has been obtained from the files of the newspapers themselves. An almost complete file of this paper of Lundy's is at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁹ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 1838-41, *passim*. After Whittier retired from the editorship in September, 1839, the paper was apparently discontinued until September 10, 1840, when publication was resumed under the same auspices. J. Miller McKim was the editor.

columns. Thereafter such material becomes increasingly scarce. The paper finally ceased publication on June 29, 1854.¹⁰

Meanwhile a paper had arisen in the West to advocate the free produce cause; namely, the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle* at Newport (Wayne County), Indiana. Publication began as a semimonthly periodical of quarto size in February, 1841. After the first year it became a weekly newspaper, although issues were sometimes irregular. The last issue was that of September 15, 1848. This paper, established to represent the views of radical Friends in Indiana Yearly Meeting, was denounced as a pernicious influence by the conservative leaders. After the separation over slavery in Indiana Yearly Meeting, the paper represented the views of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. The editors were Benjamin Stanton, a prominent Friend and local merchant, and Henry H. Way, a physician, both of Newport. The paper contains information on all phases of anti-slavery activity, but devotes much attention to the free produce movement.¹¹

Simultaneously with the beginning of the *Free Labor Advocate* another anti-slavery paper was issued from the same press, the *Protectionist*, a semimonthly journal edited by Arnold Buffum, the Rhode Island Friend who was disowned, ostensibly on account of "business troubles" but actually because of his anti-slavery views. He spent the year 1841 at Newport, Indiana, which he made the center of operations for his anti-slavery work. The *Protectionist* contains a relatively small amount of free produce news, but sheds much light on the abolition movement in the West and the reaction of the Society of Friends thereto.¹²

¹⁰ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Dec. 29, 1841, Jan. 18, 1844, June 29, 1854, and 1841-54, *passim*. The most nearly complete file of the paper, 1838-54, is at the Library Company of Philadelphia. The Library of Congress has an extensive but incomplete file covering 1846-54. During these latter years publication was weekly. Charles Calistus Burleigh (1810-1878) was born in Plainfield, Conn., and early entered abolition activity. He was in Philadelphia when Pennsylvania Hall was burned, and he was later active as an abolition lecturer and editor.

¹¹ *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, 1841-48, *passim*. With the issue of Feb. 25, 1847, the title was changed to *Anti-Slavery Chronicle and Free Labor Advocate*. The only extensive file of this paper is in the possession of Dr. Harlow Lindley, Secretary and Librarian of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

¹² *Protectionist*, I, *passim* (1841). Only one volume was published. It was sponsored by the Executive Committee of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society. There is a file in the Duke University Library.

The only press organ devoted primarily to the free produce cause was the *Non-Slaveholder*. Begun in 1846 by the leaders of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association, it represented the views of that portion of Philadelphia Friends who inclined to the teachings of Joseph John Gurney. The editors, Abraham L. Pennock, Samuel Rhoads, and George W. Taylor, however, carefully reiterated that "our columns will be closed against every thing of a controversial character relative to difficulties existing in our religious Society. . . ." The prospectus summarized their policy in these words:

Not neglecting any of the other just modes for the slave's liberation, the doctrine of abstinence from the productions of his toil will be prominently held up to view. We regard it as necessary to give the proper force to all proper modes for accomplishing that purpose.¹³

Despite good intentions and a strict avoidance of doctrinal issues, the editors found that the *Non-Slaveholder* met a varied reception throughout the country. Many anti-slavery Friends in the West subscribed to it, but "Body members . . . seem afraid almost to touch it," Levi Coffin reported. Many of them sincerely thought it would only increase divisions within the Society, while some, when they discovered that the editors corresponded with members of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, refused on that account to have anything to do with it.¹⁴

The *Non-Slaveholder* continued under the original editorship for two years. At the close of 1847 Abraham L. Pennock withdrew because of his many other religious and philanthropic interests and his advancing age. During 1848 Samuel Rhoads and George W. Taylor conducted the paper, but at the end of 1848 Taylor ended his editorial duties as the result of his taking over the free produce store earlier that year. In 1849 and 1850 Samuel Rhoads was sole editor. At the close of 1850 the *Non-Slaveholder*

¹³ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 2, 40 (Jan., March, 1846).

¹⁴ Levi Coffin to Samuel Rhoads, Newport, Ind., Feb. 8, Aug. 9, March 4, 16, 1846; Samuel Test to G. W. Taylor, Dunlapville, Ind., March 28, 1846; Benjamin W. Ladd to G. W. Taylor and Samuel Rhoads, Smithfield, Ohio, Dec. 19, 1846; Elijah Coffin to G. W. Taylor, Richmond, Ind., Jan. 26, 1847; Nathan Thomas to Samuel Rhoads, New Garden, Ind., March 22, 1849 (G. W. Taylor MSS). The correspondence gives no indication of opinion in other parts of the country. "Body members" was a term used to indicate members of Indiana Yearly Meeting, as opposed to the seceders organized under the name of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends.

ceased publication, not, explained the editor, because of "any feelings of doubt or discouragement" as to the free labor principle, nor because of a declining subscription list, but, he added, because

At no period since the day of the Missouri compromise, has the anti-slavery cause been more deeply involved in gloom, to our view, than at the present juncture. In watching the gradual yielding of the North and the corresponding triumph of the South during the last year, we have seen strong evidence . . . of . . . the influence of northern commerce in the products of slave labor . . . as the grand means by which the slaveholders have accomplished their purposes.

He indicated that other means would be used to disseminate information on the free produce cause.¹⁵

That other means was, chiefly, the *Friends' Review: A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal*, begun in 1847 by Enoch Lewis, who continued as editor until 1856.¹⁶ It reflected the more liberal views of those Friends who inclined to Gurney's opinions and for that reason had found the conservative *Friend* unsatisfactory as a religious paper. While not especially advocating the free produce cause, the *Friends' Review* was sympathetic, and printed considerable news, especially annual reports of the various free produce associations. In fact, it is the chief source of information during the three years before the *Non-Slaveholder* was revived.¹⁷ The tracts issued during this period and later by the Ohio Free Produce Association have already been referred to.

Suspension of the *Non-Slaveholder* was particularly disappointing to members of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting. Late in 1851 their Managers opened the question of its "resuscitation . . . or the establishment of a small periodical at some suitable point, devoted to the advocacy of free labor." They pushed the matter with the other free produce associations and ap-

¹⁵ *Non-Slaveholder*, I, 200 (Dec., 1846); II, 278 (Dec., 1847); III, Supplement (Dec., 1848); V, 269 (Dec., 1850).

¹⁶ Enoch Lewis (Jan. 29, 1776-July 14, 1856), born at Radnor, Pa., was a distinguished mathematician. His own formal education was not very extensive, but through his own efforts he gained wide reputation as a teacher. To this profession he devoted most of his life, teaching at Westtown and other Friends' schools, and conducting schools of his own. He published a number of mathematical texts and also wrote much of a more literary nature. After Enoch Lewis's death, Samuel Rhoads became editor of the *Friends' Review* and continued until about 1867. Publication ceased in 1894.

¹⁷ *Friends' Review*, I-VII, *passim* (1848-54); Elijah Coffin to G. W. Taylor, Richmond, Ind., Jan. 26, 1847 (G. W. Taylor MSS).

pointed a committee to raise one hundred dollars. When these efforts did not bring results, they investigated the matter of publishing a journal themselves. They obtained estimates of the cost, prepared a prospectus, appointed two members to assemble material, decided to call the paper the *Remembrancer*, and set October, 1852, as the time for issuance of the first number. After all these preparations the Managers decided at their meeting, July 10, that they "were not fully prepared . . . to encounter all the difficulties and embarrassments" involved, and so withdrew at the brink. Their annual report recommended that the Association raise two hundred dollars toward the periodical. Their correspondence with Samuel Rhoads on the whole matter induced him to agree to undertake the publication. When arrangements were finally completed, they were to revive the *Non-Slaveholder* under the editorship of William J. Allinson. The Ohio Board of Managers pledged money individually and got other donations to the extent of one hundred dollars. On February 12, 1853, they guaranteed two hundred dollars toward sustaining the paper, provided it was printed on paper of specified size and quality, and provided the expense of publication did not exceed the estimates. George W. Taylor, who, as publisher, had personally assumed financial responsibility for the paper during 1853, demurred at the Ohio Board's restrictions, which, he explained, could not easily be adhered to. Thereupon they were removed, and the money was forwarded unconditionally.¹⁸

After the paper was launched in January, 1853, the Ohio

¹⁸ Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Minutes of the Board of Managers (MS), Oct. 12, Nov. 22, 1851, Feb. 7, March 13, April 10, May 8, July 10, Aug. 14, Sept. 6, Oct. 9, Nov. 13, Dec. 11, 1852, Feb. 12, March 12, 1853; G. W. Taylor to Jonathan Binns, Feb. 18, 1853 (Taylor Letterbooks, I, 153).

Chief among the leaders of the Ohio Free Produce Association was George K. Jenkins (1810-1879), Secretary of its Board of Managers. After teaching for a time at Franklin College, Athens, Ohio, Jenkins settled at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, where he conducted an academy. The Board of Managers of the Ohio Free Produce Association usually met in his schoolroom. Mount Pleasant was a station on the Underground Railroad. Jenkins, David Updegraff (his father-in-law), and other Quaker residents of the town were active in aiding the escape of fugitive slaves (information from Elizabeth M. Jenkins, daughter of George K. Jenkins, in a letter to the author, Jan. 29, 1942).

William J. Allinson was a druggist of Burlington, N. J. He later turned to literary pursuits, of which this was perhaps the first. After Samuel Rhoads's retirement, he became editor of the *Friends' Review* (1867-74). He died on June 11, 1874, and was buried in Burlington, N. J.

Association as well as George W. Taylor and others in Philadelphia pushed subscriptions most vigorously. The policy adopted was to cut the journal to eight pages an issue and reduce the price to fifty cents a year, or clubs of three copies for one dollar, or eight copies for two dollars. Payment was strictly in advance. Subscriptions went quite well; Taylor noted eighty-eight from Salem, Ohio, and remarked that "Some villages in remote sections have sent us more than 50 each," while scarcely any had come from New York City. During 1853 the *Non-Slaveholder* paid expenses and so was continued for another year. The Ohio Association promised financial support if necessary, and the Managers also contributed articles.

During its existence the *Non-Slaveholder* printed practically all available news of the free produce movement, together with much propaganda, which included most of the tracts issued also in pamphlet form. It is therefore the most important single source for the latter part of the movement.¹⁹ Its discontinuance at the end of 1854 was due not to financial failure, but to the fact that Elihu Burritt had been enlisted in the cause. His reputation as a reformer and editor was expected to bring great stimulus to the effort.

During the latter part of 1854 Elihu Burritt was in America. He had already taken a leading part in the free produce movement in England, and was full of enthusiasm. The details are lacking, but by the end of October, 1854, George W. Taylor and others of the Philadelphia association had completed arrangements for publication of Burritt's *Citizen of the World* as successor to the *Non-Slaveholder*. Burritt got out the first number (dated January, 1855) in the preceding month, and early in the new year he returned again to England, where he edited the paper during 1855. In spite of his declared purpose of giving a large portion of his attention to the free produce cause, the first volume of his *Citizen of the World* contains only eighteen articles and notices on that subject. These are nearly all of a general nature or reflect Burritt's own pet project of experimenting with free labor on a plantation in the United States; there is almost no news of the American free produce associations.

George W. Taylor handled all details of publication, while most

¹⁹ *Non-Slaveholder*, I-V (1846-50), N.S., I-II (1853-54), *passim*. Complete files of the first series are to be found at Haverford and Swarthmore colleges. Earlham College has Volumes I-II. The second series is complete at Swarthmore and at the Library of Congress. There are partial files at several other libraries.

of the copy came from Burritt's own pen. With more than three thousand subscribers the first year, the *Citizen* paid expenses with a little to spare. During the latter part of 1855 Burritt was back in the United States. He was much exercised over the question of continuing the paper, for he felt that it had been a complete failure in promoting the reforms he advocated. Burritt finally decided to continue for another year and to press the free labor cause more vigorously.²⁰ His enthusiasm is reflected by the appearance of thirty-five articles on free produce in the *Citizen* for 1856. A large portion of these concern Burritt's efforts to establish the North American Free Labor Produce Association. Its failure left little incentive to further work. Burritt and Taylor also investigated the extent to which free labor cotton was being grown in Texas by German immigrants. Such favorable reports as they obtained had no practical results. Toward the close of 1856 Burritt proposed to publish a journal to be entitled the *Wealth of Nations*, but that did not materialize, and so ended his attempt to popularize the free produce cause. Here, too, ended all efforts to maintain a journal devoted to free produce; hence news of the movement thereafter is very fragmentary.²¹

There were a few other journals of secondary importance. The most interesting of these is *The Slave; His Wrongs, and Their Remedy*, a small, four-page monthly, begun in 1851 at Newcastle-on-Tyne by British Friends of the free produce cause. During the first two years it was edited by Anna H. Richardson, one of the leaders in England. About 1853 Elihu Burritt took over the journal and was still editing it in 1856.²² It was devoted chiefly to the free produce cause in England, and carried both news and propaganda articles. The same press also issued a series of tracts, of which the first was *Who Are the Slaveholders? A Moral Drawn from "Uncle*

²⁰ G. W. Taylor to William Armistead, Nov. 29, 1856 (Taylor Letterbooks, II, 104); Elihu Burritt to [G. W. Taylor], New Britain, Conn., Oct. 15, Nov. 13, 29, 30, 1855 (G. W. Taylor MSS); *Citizen of the World*, I, *passim* (Jan.-Dec., 1855).

²¹ *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, II, *passim* (Jan.-Dec., 1856). The Library of Congress has a file of Volume I; Duke University has a file of Volume II. Taylor remarked a little later that all losses on both the *Citizen* and *Non-Slaveholder* had come from his pocket (G. W. Taylor to Abner Devol, March 30, 1857, Taylor Letterbooks, II, 399).

²² *The Slave; His Wrongs and Their Remedy*, Nos. 30, 31, 32, *passim* (June, July, Aug., 1853). There seems to be no extensive file of this journal in the United States. Duke University has the three numbers here listed.

*Tom's Cabin," Respectfully Submitted to the Readers of That Work.*²³ Another publication was *The Beloved Crime, or the North and the South at Issue: A Friendly Address to the Americans: Also, Some Remarks on the Duty of Encouraging Free Labor Produce.*²⁴

It was through Burritt's energetic work in England that Harriet Beecher Stowe, her husband, and her brother became interested in the movement and were induced to contribute to it. At the same time Burritt was also publishing the *Bond of Brotherhood*, which gave considerable attention to free produce, although its chief purpose was to advocate peace and ocean penny postage. In this journal, however, for July, 1853, Burritt published his "Twenty Reasons for Total Abstinence from Slave-Labour Produce," which succinctly and forcefully stated his position.²⁵

A few other papers deserve brief mention. The most important is the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, which began publication at New York in 1840. Two years later Isaac Tatem Hopper became associated with the publication office, and it was due to his influence that for a time the paper carried considerable free produce news, as well as numerous articles on the difficulties among the Hicksite Friends over slavery. Though less numerous, its items were very similar to those which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*. Hopper's connection with the paper ended in 1844, and thereafter free produce news sharply declined.²⁶

²³ This is labeled Newcastle Anti-Slavery Series, No. 1, and is an undated pamphlet of twelve pages.

²⁴ The title continues: "By the Author of 'A Word on Behalf of the Slave,' and 'Bible Rights of the Slave.'" This tract of forty pages is undated.

²⁵ *Bond of Brotherhood* was published for a time by Burritt in America, and then transferred to England, where he spent several years. The Library of Congress has a file of Volume I, 1846-47. The journal carried no free produce material, apparently, until about 1852 or 1853, when Burritt began to push the subject in England. No file for the later years has been found by the writer. Burritt's *Twenty Reasons* . . . was also published as a pamphlet at Bucklebury, n.d. Duke University has it in pamphlet form. *Burritt's Christian Citizen*, a weekly newspaper which he published from 1846 to 1850 in Worcester, Mass., contains only two editorials and one other article on free labor. The financial failure of this paper left Burritt considerably in debt. The Library of Congress has an extensive but incomplete file of this paper.

²⁶ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 1840-46, *passim*. The circumstances of the founding and early history of this paper are discussed in Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933), p. 173.

Freedom's Journal, published at New York, 1827-29, was one of the early papers edited by Negroes. It contained several articles on the economic advantages of free labor. One editorial was entitled "What Does Your Sugar Cost?" In 1850 the *Impartial Citizen*, published at Syracuse, New York, by Henry H. Garnett, a Negro, carried a long article denouncing the use of slave labor goods. The *Vergennes* (Vermont) *Citizen* during the 1850's contained some material, chiefly the writing of Henry Miles, previously referred to. In Ohio three papers were induced to give some space to the cause through the efforts of the Ohio Free Produce Association: the *Herald of Freedom* published at Wilmington, the *Ohio Columbian* published at Columbus, and the *Oberlin Evangelist*. The first two were newspapers. During 1853-55 the *Ohio Columbian* carried only three or four articles. Between 1853 and 1856 the *Oberlin Evangelist* published seventeen articles, chiefly contributions from members of the Ohio Free Produce Association.²⁷

Tract material and pamphlet publications have been referred to elsewhere, and discussion of them is not needed here. After the suspension of *Burritt's Citizen of the World* in 1856, the *Friends' Review* and the *Friends' Intelligencer* were the only journals carrying any news of the free produce cause. Consequently, any connected story of the movement must cease with 1856. Doubtless much more pamphlet literature and other ephemera were published than that herein cited. Much of it, as well as the original records of the associations and correspondence of their officers, has been lost. The propaganda is largely repetitious and bulks large in proportion to news of the movement.

Very few leaders in the free produce movement achieved widespread notoriety in the advocacy of the cause. Like the early anti-slavery movement, the free produce cause was sponsored by plain people with small financial resources who, for the most part, did not give their full time to or make their living by reform work. Neither was their journalism headed by men of nation-wide recognition. The few exceptions may be noted.

²⁷ *Freedom's Journal*, New York City, 1827-29, *passim*. The editors were Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm. Files of the Ohio papers are located as follows: *Herald of Freedom* at the Western Reserve Historical Society; *Ohio Columbian* at the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; *Oberlin Evangelist* (for these years) at Syracuse University. The *Vergennes Citizen* is at the Bixby Memorial Library, Vergennes, Vt., and *Freedom's Journal* at the New York Public Library. There seems to be no extant file of the *Impartial Citizen*.

Among the journalists, Benjamin Lundy and Elihu Burritt have already received attention. John Greenleaf Whittier was undoubtedly the most distinguished writer to give his support to the cause. As editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* he gave free produce his unstinted sanction, and upon leaving that journal he said that to succeed in their labors it was necessary for abolitionists "To abandon all traffic in, or use of, the GREAT STAPLE production of slavery, and to disentangle ourselves from all commercial connection with those who traffic in the bodies and souls of men." Whittier endorsed the free produce idea throughout his life, but he never worked actively for it, while the great body of his abolition poems contains nothing on the subject.

The free produce cause had only one poet, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. She was born at Centre, Delaware, on December 24, 1807, the daughter of Thomas and Margaret (Evans) Chandler, and grew up in Philadelphia under the care of relatives. She was educated at a Friends' school, and at the age of thirteen began to write for publication, although her identity was not generally known. Her writing on slavery attracted the attention of Benjamin Lundy; in consequence, she began to write for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1826. Three years later she undertook to conduct the "Ladies' Repository" department of that journal. This arrangement continued until the summer of 1830, when Elizabeth Chandler with her aunt and brother moved to Michigan Territory. Here she continued her literary work and her writing for the *Genius*. She died on November 2, 1834, after a long illness described as "remittant fever." Her prose writings consisted chiefly of short essays. They all reflected a highly moralistic viewpoint, and many of them concerned slavery. A series entitled "Letters to Isabel," as well as others, urged the boycotting of slave products. Among her poems on that subject the following excerpts are typical.

THE SUGAR-PLUMS

No, no, pretty sugar-plums! stay where you are!
Though my grandmother sent you to me from so far;
You look very nice, you would taste very sweet,
And I love you right well, yet not one will I eat.

For the poor slaves have labour'd, far down in the south,
To make you so sweet and so nice for my mouth;

But I want no slave toiling for me in the sun,
Driven on with the whip, till the long day is done.

* * * * *

OH PRESS ME NOT TO TASTE AGAIN

Oh press me not to taste again
Of those luxurious banquet sweets!
Or hide from view the dark red stain,
That still my shuddering vision meets.

* * * * *

SLAVE PRODUCE

.....
List thee, lady! and turn aside,
With a loathing heart from the feast of pride;
For, mix't with the pleasant sweets it bears,
Is the hidden curse of scalding tears,
Wrung out from woman's bloodshot eye,
By the depth of her deadly agony.

Look! they are robes from a foreign loom,
Delicate, light, as the rose leaf's bloom;
.....

Yet fling them off from thy shrinking limb,
For sighs have render'd their brightness dim;
And many a mother's shriek and groan,
And many a daughter's burning moan,
And many a sob of wild despair,
From woman's heart, is lingering there.²⁸

The free produce movement was only one of the hundreds of reforms which characterized the nineteenth century. Whether it is viewed as just another crackbrained scheme or as the sincere effort of earnest people, it could scarcely be called a success. Doubtless the work of the free produce societies added its own small part to the avalanche that was abolition; yet that part cannot be accurately gauged. The reasons for failure are more easily arrived at than is

²⁸ Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, *Poetical Works . . . with a Memoir of Her Life and Character*, by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia, 1836), pp. 7-44, 108, 111. Most of her poems and essays had previously appeared in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

the extent of achievement. Free produce failed because it made too heavy an economic demand on the individual. Voluntary self-denial can be expected only of the conscientious few, never of the mass. This was the fundamental failure; the theory was perfectly sound. Like popular sovereignty, it never worked out as its advocates anticipated.

The most striking aspect of the free produce cause was its popularity and wide acceptance at the beginning of the abolition movement. Many of the most active abolitionists, like the Welds, boycotted slave labor products individually, but did not advocate that policy publicly. Others, like Gerrit Smith and John Greenleaf Whittier, endorsed the principle throughout their careers. Some, notably William Lloyd Garrison and Stephen Symonds Foster, urged such a boycott in the 1830's, but later abandoned the idea and claimed that abolitionists were especially entitled to use goods produced by the slave whose cause they were espousing.

Among the Society of Friends opinion falls into several categories. First, there was the most radical faction. These Quakers either withdrew from membership individually or joined the organization called Progressive Friends. The people in this category were most active in the free produce movement during the 1830's and the first half of the next decade. After that they became so much involved in political abolition, women's rights, and other reforms that they forgot the free produce movement.

On the other hand, the most conservative Friends kept strictly aloof from all social questions. These were a decided minority. The largest body of Friends may be termed conservatives, who displayed a mild interest in social questions and kept to what they considered a traditional attitude. They condemned slavery, but maintained that the Society of Friends was itself an anti-slavery society, that a verbal condemnation of the institution was sufficient, that any vigorous action would be detrimental to religious spirit and solidarity, and that those members who felt otherwise were "working in their own wills."

Those Friends who led the free produce movement were a compound of the followers of Joseph John Gurney, those radicals who limited their reform interests to the slavery question, and those who refused to let their activity in social questions take them away from the religious fold. Most Friends in this class belonged to many anti-slavery societies during the 1830's and helped to form the various

state anti-slavery organizations. About 1840 dissension within the Society of Friends brought a change in the situation. The conservative objections to indiscriminate abolition activity became so strong that most of those involved were forced to make some change in policy. The result was the formation of free produce associations composed exclusively of Friends. This compromise did not bring peace, but it did prevent further ruptures within the Society. The free produce movement was always strongest around Philadelphia. Friends in New York were always loud in their endorsement of the work, but their tangible support was largely lacking. The movement in New England never made much progress partly because of limited numbers. In the West a large body of Friends gave the cause their support, yet the total results were small. Quakers in Ohio and Indiana did not have the money to give any substantial aid in a cause they were sure was right. Total membership in the free produce societies probably did not exceed fifteen hundred. The number of those who made some effort to confine their purchases to free labor goods may have reached five or six thousand. Decline of the movement after 1856 may be charged to the increasing excitement throughout the country. Free produce leaders now saw that abolition would be achieved by more violent means than their quiet policy of boycott. They continued their work, but abandoned the hope of making the boycott of slave labor goods a telling factor in accomplishing the abolition of slavery.

The whole free produce movement, however, contains implications larger than mere differences on the question of slavery. The conflict within the Society of Friends was a matter of fundamental policy rather than an attitude toward a specific reform. Here the free produce movement made its real contribution to Quakerism. While it was by no means the first organized effort of Friends to promote social reform, it was indeed a long step forward. The free produce associations were only forerunners of an evangelical Quakerism which later organized many associations to promote peace, freedmen's aid, education, missions, Indian rights, temperance, and other social reforms. Friends of the free produce associations were a distinct minority, but their earnest, quiet work did much to advance their views throughout the entire body of Quakers. Increasingly, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, Friends gave their attention and effort to social questions, so that when they entered the twentieth century such work was a fixed policy which distin-

guished them. That policy culminated in the American Friends' Service Committee, which has now a quarter-century's work to its credit. The Friends of the free produce associations, though condemned by many of their fellow members, today stand vindicated. Their convictions are today the policy of the entire Society of Friends, a policy under which a few Friends, deemed radical by the majority of their fellows, can work for their favorite cause without danger of separation, until the cause either dies of inanition or wins to it the whole body of Friends.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF FREE PRODUCE SOCIETIES (With an indication of the extant records of each)

<i>Date of Founding</i>	<i>Name of Society</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date When Last Known</i>
1826 (June)	Wilmington Society for the Encouragement of Free Labor (Constitution; Report, 1827)	Wilmington, Del.	1827
1826 (Sept.)	Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania (Constitution; Notices, 1827-29, 1831-32, 1837)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1837
1829 (Jan.)	Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton (Reports, 1829-32)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1832
1830 (Dec.)	Colored Men's Free Produce Association (Notices, 1831)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1831
1830 (Dec.)	Colored Female Free Produce Society (Notices, 1831)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1831
1832	Green Plain Free Produce Society (Report, 1833)	Clark County, Ohio	1836
1833	Oxford Anti-Slavery and Free Produce Society, which in 1838 became the Union Free Produce Society (Constitution; Reports, 1839-42, 1844-45)	Chester County, Pa.	1845
1833	Harrisville Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society of Harrison County (Report, 1833)	Harrison County, Ohio	1833
1834	Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society of Monroe County, Ohio (Preceded by the Aiding Abolition Society of Monroe County, Ohio, formed in 1826) (Report, 1834)	Monroe County, Ohio	1834
1837	Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Color (Constitution; Reports, 1846-51)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1851
1838	American Free Produce Association (Constitution; Reports, 1837-47)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1847
1842 (Jan.)	Wayne County Free Produce Association (Constitution; Notices, 1841-42, 1850)	Wayne County, Ind.	1850
1842 (Feb.)	Western Free Produce Association (Constitution; Reports, 1842-49)	Western Ohio and Eastern Indiana	1849
1842	Marion County Free Produce Association (Constitution; Report, 1842)	Whetstone, Ohio	1842
1842[?]	Western New York Free Produce Association (Notice, 1842)	Wayne County, N. Y.	1842
1845 (May)	Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting (Constitution; Reports, 1845-55)	New York City	1855

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF FREE PRODUCE SOCIETIES
(Continued)

<i>Date of Founding</i>	<i>Name of Society</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date When Last Known</i>
1845 (June)	Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Constitution; Reports, 1845-54; Notices, 1855-56; Minutes of Board of Managers, 1845-52)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1856
1846	Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Constitution; Reports, 1849-55; Notices, 1858-59; Minutes of Board of Managers, 1846-57)	Mount Pleasant, Ohio	1859
1846	Iowa Free Produce Association (Preceded by Salem Anti-Slavery Society, formed Feb. 6, 1841) (Notice, 1850)	Salem, Iowa	1860
1848 (June)	Free Produce Society of Friends of New England Yearly Meeting (Reports, 1848-52)	Newport, R. I.	1852
1848	Free Produce Association at Collins and Its Vicinity (Report, 1850; Notice, 1848)	Collins Center, N. Y.	1850
1849	North Carolina Free Produce Association (Notices, 1849, 1851-52)	Guilford County, N. C.	1852
1852	Alum Creek Free Produce Association of Friends (Auxiliary to Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting) (Notices, 1852)	Morrow County, Ohio	1853
[1854]	Free Produce Association of Western Vermont (Report, 1854?)	Ferrisburg, Vt.	[1855]
1855	Free Labor Association of Maine (Notice, 1856)	Manchester, Me.	1856
1856 (May)	North American Free Labor Produce Association (Report, 1856)	Philadelphia, Pa.	1856

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF FREE PRODUCE STORES

<i>Date of Opening</i>	<i>Proprietor</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date When Last Known to Exist</i>
[1817]	Charles Collins.....	New York City.....	1843
1825	Jane Webb.....	Wilmington, Del.....	1831
1826	Benjamin Lundy & Michael Lamb	Baltimore, Md.....	1827
1829	James Mott.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1829	Fanny Birdsall.....	Bordentown, N. J.....	1829
1829	James L. Pierce.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1831
1829	John Townsend.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1829
1830	— Woodward.....	Egypt, N. J.....	1830
1830	Benjamin Lundy.....	Baltimore, Md.....	1830
1830	Lydia White.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1846
1830	Amy Pennock.....	Kennett Square, Pa.....	1830
1831	George Truman.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1831
1831	A. Laing.....	Rahway, N. J.....	1831
1831	O. Fairfield & Company.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1831
1832	Isaac Peirce.....	New York City.....	1832
1833	Zebulon Thomas.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1835
1833	William Grey & Company.....	New York City.....	
1833	Joseph H. Beale.....	New York City.....	1835
1834	William Whipper.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1834	Isaac Clement.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1836	S. A. Lewis.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1837	Charles Wise.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1843
1837	C. & E. Adams.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1837	Robert McClure.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1838	William Bassett.....	Lynn, Mass.....	
1838	Charles Cadwallader.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1839	Bishop and Withington.....	Boston, Mass.....	
1839	Clarke and Porter.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1840	Norris W. Palmer.....	Wilmington, Del.....	
1840	Eli & Livezey.....	Centreville, Pa.....	
1841	Levi Coffin & Joel Parker.....	Newport, Ind.....	1844(?)
1841	B. Percival.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1842	Jonathan Macy.....	Grant County, Ind.....	
1842	Seth Hinshaw.....	Greensboro, Ind.....	
1844	J. Park.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1844	Levi Coffin.....	Newport, Ind.....	1847(?)
1846	Thomas S. Field & Company.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	
1846	Joel Parker.....	Newport, Ind.....	
1846	Joel Fisher.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1847(?)
1847	George W. Taylor.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1867
1847	Parker and Stanton.....	Newport, Ind.....	
1847	Levi Coffin.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1857
1848	L. M. Hoag & George Wood.....	New York City.....	1848
1848	Small, Coleman & Co.....	Jonesboro, Ind.....	
1848	R. L. Murray.....	New York City.....	1852
1848	Mount Pleasant Free Labor Co..	Mount Pleasant, Ohio..	1862(?)
1849	—	Lynn, Mass.....	
1849	Henry Russell.....	Sandwich, Mass.....	
1852	Ezra Towne.....	New York City.....	1861(?)
1853	C. M. & M. J. Scarlet.....	Chester Co., Iowa.....	
1856	S. Small & E. Brannin.....	Greensboro, Ind.....	
1856	Moses Emery.....	Saco, Me.....	
1856	Alden Sampson.....	Hallowell, Me.....	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

REFERENCE WORKS

- Child, Hamilton (comp.). *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Addison County, Vt., for 1881-82*. Syracuse, N. Y., 1882.
- Dictionary of American Biography*. Edited by Allen Johnson. . . . New York, 1928-37. 20 vols.
- Dictionary of National Biography . . . from the Earliest Times to 1900*. . . . London, 1921-39. 25 vols.
- Hinshaw, William Wade. *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*. . . . Ann Arbor, Mich., 1936—. 3 vols. issued.
- Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. *Philadelphia; a History of the City and Its People, a Record of 225 Years*. . . . Philadelphia and Chicago [, 1911]. 4 vols.
- Oberlin College Library. *A Classified Catalogue of the Collection of Anti-Slavery Propaganda in the Oberlin College Library*. Compiled by Geraldine Hopkins Hubbard. Edited by Julian S. Fowler. *Oberlin College Library Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 3 [Oberlin, Ohio], 1932.
- Simpson, Henry. *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased, Collected from Original and Authentic Sources*. . . . Philadelphia, 1859.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

- Evans, George. Letters from George Evans to his Family and Particular Friends. 1840. Spiceland, Ind. 15 items. (Indiana State Library)
- Miles, Henry. Letters and Papers. 1839-85. Monkton, Vt. Approximately 300 items. (Harvard and Duke)
- Taylor, George Washington. Letters and Papers. 1809-76. Philadelphia, Pa. 120 items. (These manuscripts are in the possession of Francis R. Taylor of Philadelphia, a great-nephew of G. W. Taylor. They were loaned to the writer.)
- Letterbooks. 1852-62. Philadelphia, Pa. 2 vols. Letterpress copy of correspondence sent out by G. W. Taylor. The two volumes contain about one thousand pages and approximately seven hundred letters, dealing chiefly with Taylor's free produce business. (Haverford College; Francis R. Taylor, donor.)

FREE PRODUCE SOCIETIES

Philadelphia. Required Labor Convention, 1838

Minutes of Proceedings of the Required Labor Convention, Held in Philadelphia, on the 17th and 18th of the Fifth Month, and by Adjournment on the 5th and 6th of the Ninth Month, 1838. Philadelphia, 1838. (Library of Congress, Swarthmore College.) (This convention formed the American Free Produce Association.)

American Free Produce Association

Fifth Annual Report. Philadelphia, 1843. (Haverford)

Sixth Annual Report. Philadelphia, 1844. (Swarthmore)

Free Produce Association of Friends of New England Yearly Meeting

Free Produce Meeting. Newport, R. I., June 18, 1850. [broad-side] (Haverford)

Free Produce Meeting. Newport, R. I., June 16, 1851. [broad-side] (Haverford)

Minutes of Free Produce Meeting 6 mo. 17. 1852 at Newport [R. I.] [MS record, together with a printed pledge to use free labor products.] (Haverford)

Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting
Reports of the Board of Managers, 4th-10th, 1849-55, New York, 1849-55. [pamphlets] (Duke)

Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting

Minutes of the Board of Managers (MS). September 11, 1846-January 10, 1857. Mount Pleasant, Ohio. 2 vols.

Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting. Mount Pleasant Free Produce Company

Account Books. 1852-57. (MS) 2 vols. Day Book. 1842-63 (MS). Inventory of Goods. 1848 (MS). *Articles of Association*. n.p., n.d. [pamphlet] (Western Reserve Historical Society)

[Printed Reports and Tracts issued by the Association]:

Extracts from the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Free Produce Association of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Held 3d of Ninth Month, 1850, with the Report of the Board of Managers. Constitution, &c. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1851. (Oberlin)

Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting Held 9th of Ninth Month, 1851. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1851. (Oberlin)

Address of Farmington Quarterly Meeting (New York) to the Monthly Meetings Constituting it, and to the Members of

the Same, Generally. . . . [Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1850.] (Oberlin)

Considerations on Abstinence from the Use of the Products of Slave Labor; Addressed to the Members of Ohio Yearly Meeting. . . . [Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1850.] (Oberlin)

Lewis, Enoch. *Extracts from Observations on Slavery and the Slave Trade.* . . . [Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1850.] (Duke)

Stolen Goods: or the Gains of Oppression. by Le Mabbett. and *Comparison of Stolen Goods with Slave Labor Produce.* By Elihu Burritt. [Mount Pleasant, Ohio,] 1850. (Oberlin)

The Plea of Necessity. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1851. (Haverford, Oberlin)

Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
Minutes of the Board of Managers (MS), 1845-52. 1 vol.
Philadelphia, Pa. (Property of the Friends' Historical Society
of Philadelphia; deposited at Haverford College.)

Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
[Printed tracts:]

An Address to Our Fellow Members of the Religious Society of Friends on the Subject of Slavery and the Slave-Trade in the Western World. . . . Philadelphia, 1849. (Haverford, Oberlin)

Circular to Our Fellow Members of the Religious Society of Friends. September 3, 1845. [broadside] (Earlham)

Free Produce Association of Western Vermont

First Annual Report and Address (MS) [ca. 1854], Monkton, Vt. (Duke)

Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania

Constitution. Philadelphia [, 1827]. [pamphlet] (Swarthmore)

QUAKER SOCIETIES

(NOT EXCLUSIVELY FREE PRODUCE)

The Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour
Constitution. . . . Philadelphia, 1839.

Annual Reports, 1846-51. Philadelphia, 1846-51.

An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Propriety of Abstaining from the Use of the Produce of Slave Labour. Philadelphia, 1838.

An Address to the Citizens of the United States, on the Subject of Slavery. . . . [Philadelphia,] 1838.

An Appeal to Females of the North, on the Subject of Slavery. By a Female of Vermont. . . . Philadelphia, 1838.

Extracts from Writings of Friends, on the Subject of Slavery
 . . . Philadelphia, 1839.

An Address to the Members of the Society of Friends. . . .
 Philadelphia, 1843.

(All of these tracts are at Swarthmore College.)

OTHER ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES

American Anti-Slavery Society

Proceedings of an Anti-Slavery Convention Assembled at Philadelphia, December 4, 5, and 6, 1833. Philadelphia, 1833.

The Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society: with an Address to the Public, by the Executive Committee; the Constitution of the United States and also of the Different States Which Are Supposed to Have Any Relation to Slavery. . . . New York, 1837.

American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race

Minutes of the Acting Committee (MS), III, 1827-37. (Hist. Soc. Pa.)

Minutes of the Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies. . . . 1794-1837, title and place vary, 1794-1837. [Twenty-six conventions were held.] (Duke, Brown, Library of Congress, Huntington Library)

Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, 1st, New York, 1837

Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, Held in the City of New-York, May 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1837. New York, 1837. (Oberlin)

An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States, Issued by an Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, Held by Adjournments from the 9th to the 12th of May, 1837. New York, 1837. (Duke)

Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, 2d, Philadelphia, 1838

Proceedings of a Convention Held in Philadelphia, May 15-18, 1838. Philadelphia, 1838. (Duke)

Address to Anti-Slavery Societies. Philadelphia, 1838. (Oberlin)

Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society

Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society; with a Concise Statement of Events, Previous and Subsequent to the Annual Meeting of 1835. Boston, 1836. 2d ed. (Duke)

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society

Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, Called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Held in London on the 12th of June, 1840. . . . London, 1840. (Duke)

Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, Called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Held in London, from Tuesday, June 13th, to Tuesday, June 20th, 1843. . . . London [, 1843]. (Duke)

Tenth Annual Report. . . , May 21st, 1849. London, 1849.

Eleventh Annual Report . . . , May 20th, 1850. London, 1850. (Duke)

Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society

Proceedings of the Indiana Convention, Assembled to Organize a State Anti-Slavery Society, Held in Milton, Wayne Co., September 12th, 1838. Cincinnati, 1838. (Oberlin)

Ohio Anti-Slavery Society

Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention. Held at Putnam, on the Twenty-second, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fourth of April, 1835. n.p., n.d. (Oberlin)

Report of the First Anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, Held near Granville, on the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth of April, 1836. Cincinnati, 1836. (Duke)

Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race

Minutes (MS), Vol. III (1825-47). Philadelphia. (Hist. Soc. Pa.)

Philadelphia City Anti-Slavery Society

Constitution. Adopted June 5, 1838, in lieu of one burned in Pennsylvania Hall. (MS Constitution and list of members.) (Hist. Soc. Pa.)

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society

Fifth Annual Report [for 1838] . . . January 10, 1839. Philadelphia, 1839. (Oberlin)

Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society

Proceedings of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Convention, Held in Providence, on the 2d, 3d and 4th of February, 1836. Providence, 1836. (Oberlin)

YEARLY MEETING RECORDS AND PUBLICATIONS

- Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends (Orthodox)
Minutes (MS), 1843-57. Newport (Wayne County), Ind. 1 vol. (Earlham)
Minutes (printed) 1843-44, 1848-49, 1855 (title varies). [Newport, Ind., 1843-55.] (Earlham)
- Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox)
Minutes. 1823-date. v.p., 1823-. (Earlham)
- New York Yearly Meeting (Hicksite)
Address to the Citizens of the United States of America on the Subject of Slavery, from the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, (Called Quakers) Held in New York. New York, 1837. (Oberlin)
Address of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Held in the City of New-York, in the Sixth Month, 1852, to the Professors of Christianity in the United States, on the Subject of Slavery. New York, 1852. (Swarthmore)
Memorials Concerning Deceased Friends, Published by Direction of the Yearly Meeting of New York. New York, 1859. (Earlham)
- New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox)
Address of Scipio Quarterly Meeting of Friends, on the Subject of Slavery, to Its Members. Skaneateles [, 1837]. (Haverford)
- Ohio Yearly Meeting (Conservative or Wilburite)
Minutes, 1854-68. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1854-68. (Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc.)
- Ohio Yearly Meeting (Hicksite)
Minutes, 1834, 1844-73. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and other places, 1834-73. (Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc.)
- Ohio Yearly Meeting (Orthodox)
Minutes, 1823-61. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and other places, 1823-61.
- Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends
Proceedings . . . , 1853-1905. v.p. (Swarthmore)
- Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite)
An Address to the Quarterly, Monthly and Preparative Meetings, and the Members thereof, Composing the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, by the Committee Appointed at the Late Yearly Meeting to Have Charge of the Subject of Slavery. New York, 1839. (Library of Congress, Haverford)
Western Quarterly Meeting: To the Members of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania and Elsewhere. Tenth month, 18, 1845. Philadelphia, 1845. (Haverford)

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox)

Minute on Slavery, 1839. n.p., n.d. [broadside]

(Earlham, Library of Congress)

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Women Friends

Minutes, 1688-1813 (MS). Philadelphia. 1 vol. (Arch Street Center, Philadelphia)

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Women Friends (Hicksite)

Extracts from the Minutes . . ., 1840, 1854. Philadelphia, 1840, 1854. (Earlham)

PAMPHLETS AND BROADSIDES

An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum. . . . Philadelphia, 1792. 10th ed. with additions. (Haverford, Swarthmore)

Bassett, William. *Proceedings of the Society of Friends in the Case of William Bassett*. Worcester, Mass., 1840. (Duke)

The Beloved Crime, or the North and the South at Issue: A Friendly Address to the Americans. Also, Some Remarks on the Duty of Encouraging Free Labour Produce. By the Author of "A Word on Behalf of the Slave," and "Bible Rights of the Slave." London, n.d. (Duke)

Burritt, Elihu. *Twenty Reasons for Total Abstinence from Slave-Labour Produce.* [London, 1853.] (Duke)

Considerations Addressed to Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination, on the Impropriety of Consuming West-India Sugar and Rum, as Produced by the Oppressive Labour of Slaves. London [, 1792]. (Mercantile Library Company, Philadelphia)

Crafton, William Bell. *A Short Sketch of the Evidence, Delivered before a Committee of the House of Commons for the Abolition of the Slave Trade: To Which Is Added a Recommendation of the Subject to the Serious Attention of People in General.* London, 1792. (Haverford)

Edmunds, Lucy. *A Short Sketch of the Life of Our Dear Friend John Horn: With Some of His Expressions towards His Close.* By Lucy Edmunds. Also, *Considerations on the African Slave Trade and the Use of West India Produce.* First Published by Him in His Last Illness. London, 1806. (Duke)

Free Labor Cotton Depot. [London, 1853? broadside] (Swarthmore)

Gunn, Lewis C. *Address to Abolitionists.* Philadelphia, 1838. (Duke)

- Henderson, B. *East India Sugar Basins*. [London, 1791? broadside] (Swarthmore)
- Hicks, Elias. *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Produce of Their Labour*. Philadelphia, 1823. 3d ed. (Haverford)
- Hodgson, Adam. *A Letter to M. Jean-Baptiste Say, on the Comparative Expense of Free and Slave Labour*. Liverpool, New York, 1823. (Hist. Soc. Pa., Univ. of N. C.)
- Horn, John. *Some Considerations on the African Slave Trade, and the Use of West India Produce*. January 17, 1805. [London, 1805. broadside] (Haverford)
- Hurnard, James. *The True Way to Abolish Slavery*. London, n.d. (Duke)
- Lewis, Graceanna. *An Appeal to Those Members of the Society of Friends Who, Knowing the Principles of the Abolitionists, Stand Aloof from the Anti-Slavery Enterprise*. n.p., n.d. (Haverford)
- Marriott, Charles. *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Duty of Declining the Use of the Products of Slave Labour*. New York, 1835. (Duke, Swarthmore)
- Mifflin, Warner. *The Defence of Warner Mifflin Against Aspersions Cast on Him on Account of His Endeavors to Promote Righteousness, Mercy and Peace, among Mankind*. Philadelphia, 1796. (Duke)
- Pease, Joseph, Sen. *A Letter from Joseph Pease, Sen., Addressed to Jonathan Backhouse, of Darlington, both Members of the South Durham British India Society, on the Subject of the Slave Trade and Slavery*. May 11, 1842, Darlington, September 5, 1842. [broadside] (Haverford)
- [Rhoads, Samuel.] *Considerations on the Use of the Productions of Slavery, Addressed to the Religious Society of Friends*. Philadelphia, 1844. (Haverford, Duke, Library of Congress)
- Sugar from Another Hemisphere*. n.p., n.d. [November 24, 1830? broadside] (Duke)

PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

- The Abolitionist: or Record of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society*. Boston, Vol. I, Jan.-Dec., 1833. monthly. (No more published.)
- American Free Produce Journal*. Philadelphia, Vol. I, No. 1, Oct., 1842. (Apparently no more published.) (Hist. Soc. Pa.)

- Anti-Slavery Bugle*. Salem, Ohio, 1845-61. weekly newspaper. (Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc.)
- The Berean: A Religious Publication*. Wilmington, Del. Vols. I-III, 1824-27; N.S. Vol. I, 1827-28. monthly (Guilford College)
- The British Friend: A Monthly Journal, Chiefly Devoted to the Interests of the Society of Friends*, Glasgow, Vols. I-XLIX, 1843-91; N.S. Vols. I-XXI, 1892-1912.
- Burritt's Christian Citizen*. Worcester, Mass., 1844-50. weekly newspaper. (Library of Congress)
- Burritt's Citizen of the World*. Philadelphia, Vols. I-II, 1855-56. monthly. (Vol. I at Library of Congress; Vol. II at Duke)
- The Emancipator (Complete) Published by Elihu Embree, Jonesborough, Tennessee, 1820; a Reprint of the Emancipator, to Which Are Added a Biographical Sketch of Elihu Embree, Author and Publisher of the Emancipator, and Two Hitherto Unpublished Anti-Slavery Memorials Bearing the Signature of Elihu Embree*. Nashville, Tenn., 1932. monthly.
- Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*. Newport (Wayne County), Ind., 1841-48. Vol. I published semimonthly as a periodical; the remainder is a weekly newspaper. (File owned by Dr. Harlow Lindley)
- Freedom's Journal*. New York City, 1827-29. weekly newspaper. (N. Y. Public Library; film copy at Duke)
- The Friend: A Monthly Journal*. London, Vols. I—, 1843-date.
- The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal*. Philadelphia, Vols. I—, 1827-date. (Orthodox) weekly.
- The Friend; or, Advocate of Truth: A Religious Publication*. Philadelphia, Vols. I-IV, 1828-33. (Hicksite) monthly.
- Friends' Intelligencer*. Philadelphia, Vols. I—, 1838-date. (Hicksite) weekly.
- Friends' Review: A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal*. Philadelphia, Vols. I-XLVIII, 1848-94. (Orthodox) weekly.
- Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, Jonesboro, Tenn.; Baltimore, Md.; Washington, D. C.; Philadelphia, Pa., Vols. I-XVI, 1821-39. monthly and weekly. (Boston Public Library)
- The Liberator*. Boston, 1831-65. weekly newspaper.
- National Anti-Slavery Standard*. New York City, 1840-50. weekly newspaper.
- National Enquirer and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty*. Philadelphia, 1836-38. weekly newspaper. Becomes *Pennsylvania Freeman*. (Hist. Soc. Pa.)

- National Era*. Washington, D. C., 1847-60. weekly newspaper.
- Non-Slaveholder*. Philadelphia, Vols. I-V, 1846-50; N.S., Vols. I-II, 1853-54. monthly. (Earlham, Haverford, Swarthmore, Brown, Library of Congress)
- Oberlin Evangelist: A Semi-monthly Periodical Devoted to the Promotion of Religion*. Sustained by an Association, Oberlin, Ohio, Vols. I-XXIV, 1838-62. (Syracuse Univ.)
- Ohio Columbian*. Columbus, Ohio, 1853-56. weekly newspaper. (Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc.)
- Pennsylvania Freeman*. Philadelphia, 1838-54. weekly, semi-monthly, etc. newspaper. (Hist. Soc. Pa., Library Company of Phila., Library of Congress)
- Philanthropist*. Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1817-18. weekly newspaper. (Ind. State Lib.)
- Protectionist*. New Garden (Wayne County), Ind., Vol. I, Jan.-Dec., 1841. semimonthly. (No more published) (Duke)
- The Slave; His Wrongs and Their Remedy*. Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, [1851-56?]. monthly. (Duke)
- Vergennes Citizen*. Vergennes, Vt., 1855-57. weekly newspaper. (Bixby Memorial Library, Vergennes, Vt.)
- Voice of Freedom*. Montpelier, Vt., 1839-40. weekly newspaper. (Duke)
- Western Friend*. Cincinnati, Vols. I-II, 1847-49. monthly (Earlham)

BIOGRAPHY, CORRESPONDENCE, AND TRAVELS

- Allen, William. *Life of William Allen, with Selections from His Correspondence*. London, 1846. 3 vols.
- [Branagan, Thomas.] *The Guardian Genius of the Federal Union; or, Patriotic Admonitions on the Signs of the Times, in Relation to the Evil Spirit of Party, Arising from the Root of All Our Evils, Human Slavery: Being Part of the Beauties of Philanthropy*. By a Philanthropist. New York, 1840. 2d ed.
- Brissot de Warville, Jacques Pierre. *New Travels in the United States of America. Performed in 1788. Translated from the French*. London, 1792. Reprinted in Great American Historical Classics Series, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1919. (Ohio State Univ.)
- Burritt, Elihu. *The Learned Blacksmith: The Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt*. Edited by Merle Curti. New York, 1937.
- Chandler, Elizabeth Margaret. *Poetical Works . . . with a Memoir of Her Life and Character*. By Benjamin Lundy. Philadelphia, 1836. (Duke)

- Clarkson, Thomas. *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*. London, 1808. 2 vols.
- Coffin, Levi. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad; Being a Brief History of the Labors of a Lifetime in Behalf of the Slave, with Stories of Numerous Fugitives, Who Gained Their Freedom through His Instrumentality, and Many Other Incidents*. Cincinnati [, 1876].
- Edgerton, Walter. *History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends; Which Took Place in the Winter of 1842 and 1843, on the Anti-slavery Question; . . . Embracing the Documents Issued by Both Parties Relative Thereto. . . .* Cincinnati, 1856. (Duke)
- From under His Wings: A Sketch of the Life of Robert Lindley Murray*. New York, 1876. (Haverford)
- Hallowell, Ann Davis. *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters*. Edited by their Granddaughter. . . . Boston, 1884.
- Hicks, Elias. *Letters of Elias Hicks: Including also Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Produce of Their Labor*. Philadelphia, 1861.
- Imlay, Gilbert. *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America: Containing a Succinct Account of Its Soil, Climate, Natural History, Population, Agriculture, Manners and Customs, in a Series of Letters to a Friend in England*. Dublin, 1793. Reprinted in Great American Historical Classics Series, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1919. (Ohio State Univ.)
- Jefferson, Thomas. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. . . . Washington, 1904. 20 vols.
- Justice, Hilda (comp.). *Life and Ancestry of Warner Mifflin: Friend—Philanthropist—Patriot*. Philadelphia, 1905.
- Lewis, Joseph L. *A Memoir of Enoch Lewis*. West Chester, Pa., 1882. (Guilford)
- Lundy, Benjamin. *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, Including His Journeys to Texas and Mexico; with a Sketch of Cotemporary Events, and a Notice of the Revolution in Hayti*. Compiled under the direction and on behalf of his children [by Thomas Earle]. Philadelphia, 1847. (Duke)
- New York Association of Friends for the Relief of those Held in Slavery, &c. *Testimony . . . concerning Charles Marriott, Deceased*. New York, 1844. (New York Depository of Friends' Records)
- Osborn, Charles. *Journal of That Faithful Servant of Christ, Charles Osborn, Containing an Account of Many of His Travels*

and Labours in the Work of the Ministry, and His Trials and Exercises in the Service of the Lord, and His Defence of the Truth, as It Is in Jesus. Cincinnati, 1854. (Earlham, Guilford)

[Pennsylvania Hall Association.] *History of Pennsylvania Hall, Which Was Destroyed by a Mob, on the 17th of May, 1838.*

... Philadelphia, 1838. (Swarthmore)

Shore, William Teignmouth. *John Woolman; His Life and Our Times; Being a Study in Applied Christianity.* London, 1913.

Sturge, Joseph. *A Visit to the United States in 1841.* Boston, 1842.

Taylor, George Washington. *Autobiography and Writings.* . . . Philadelphia, 1891. (Earlham)

Vaux, Roberts. *Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford; Two of the Earliest Public Advocates for the Emancipation of the Enslaved Africans.* Philadelphia, 1815.

Woolman, John. *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman.* Edited from the Original Manuscripts with a Biographical Introduction, by Amelia Mott Gummere. Philadelphia and London, 1922.

SECONDARY WORKS

Adams, Alice Dana. *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831.* Boston, 1907. Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 14.

Alexander, Arthur C. *Koloa Plantation, 1835-1935: A History of the Oldest Hawaiian Sugar Plantation.* Honolulu, 1937.

Boggess, Arthur Clinton. *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830.* Chicago, 1908. Chicago Historical Society's Collection, Vol. V.

Drake, Thomas Edward. "Northern Quakers and Slavery." Type-written doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1933.

Garrison, Wendell Phillips. "Free Produce among the Quakers," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXII, 485-494 (October, 1868).

Janney, Samuel Macpherson. *An Examination of the Causes Which Led to the Separation of the Religious Society of Friends in America, in 1827-28.* Philadelphia, 1868.

Locke, Mary Stoughton. *Anti-Slavery in America from the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade (1619-1808).* Boston, 1901. Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 11.

Russell, Elbert. *The History of Quakerism.* New York, 1942.

Thomas, Allen C., and Richard Henry Thomas. *A History of the Friends in America.* Philadelphia, 1930. 6th ed.

Wilkinson, Norman B. "The Philadelphia Free Produce Attack upon Slavery," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVI, 294-313 (July, 1942).

INDEX

- Abolition movement, characteristics of, 30; in Indiana, 48 f.; in Pennsylvania, 23 f.; political aspects of, 30; Quaker attitude toward, 4, 104, 114 f.
- Abolitionists, adopt free produce idea, 21, 59, 114; claim special right to use slave labor goods, 102, 114; criticized for not promoting free produce movement, 28 f.; reasons for not promoting it, 25 n.
- Abstinence from use of slave labor goods.
See Slave labor goods
- Adams, C. & E., 119
- Africa, quality of cotton produced in, 76; source of free labor products, 76, 80.
See also Algeria, Liberia, South Africa
- African imphee (sorghum cane), 80
- Aiding Abolition Society of Monroe County, Ohio, 117; endorses free produce cause, 19
- Alabama, 75; source of free labor cotton, 65, 74
- Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, 8 n.
- Algeria, source of free labor cotton, 76
- Allen, William, abstains from use of sugar, 8
- Allinson, Samuel, 36
- Allinson, Samuel, Jr., 65 n.
- Allinson, William J., 107 n.; edits *Non-Slaveholder*, 107 f.
- Alsop, Samuel, 36, 65 n.
- Alum Creek Free Produce Association (Morrow Co., Ohio), 50 n., 56, 97, 118
- American Anti-Slavery Society, 19, 21; fails to understand free produce movement, 25 n.
- American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race, adopts resolutions condemning use of slave labor products, 11 f.; investigates sources of free labor products, 16, 60 f.; meetings of, 11 f., 18; notes increasing demand for slave labor goods, 12; offers prize for demonstration of free and slave labor costs, 12
- American Free Produce Association, 20, 50, 57, 58 f., 117; ceases to manufacture cotton cloth, 29; J. Miller McKim is agent for, 81; Lydia White is agent for, 81; manufactures free labor goods, 63 f.; meetings of, 26-28; organized, 24 f.; promotes free produce cause among anti-slavery societies, 27; seeks free labor cotton, 62
- American Free Produce Journal* (Philadelphia), 28
- American Friends' Service Committee, 116
- Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, urges boycott of slave labor goods, 22
- Anti-Slavery Convention of the World.
See General Anti-Slavery Conventions (London, 1840, 1843)
- Anti-slavery movement, characteristics of before 1831, 30
- Anti-Slavery Society of Ferrisburgh (Vt.) and Vicinity, 46
- Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, endorses boycott of slave labor goods, 12
- Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania, Executive Committee of the Eastern District, publishes *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 103
- Antigua (West Indies), 8
- Arkansas, Nathan Thomas visits, 72; source of free labor products, 72
- Arrowroot, produced by free labor, in Liberia, 95
- Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour, 28, 34 f., 117; Committee on Requit Labor of, 35
- Atlee, Edwin P., 14, 15 n.
- Australia, source of free labor cotton, 76
- Autauga Co., Ala., displays hostility toward the North, 75
- Authenticity of free labor goods. *See* Free labor goods
- Baltimore, Md., 101; free produce stores in, 81, 119

- Baptist Church, 3, 30
 Barbados (West Indies), 79; slavery in, 5
 Barton, Isaac, 12, 14, 15 n.
 Bassett, William, 25, 26 f., 27 n., 119
 Beale, Joseph H., conducts free produce store, 80 f., 81 n., 119
 Beard, William, 51
 Benedict, Aaron Lancaster, 50
 Benezet, Anthony, 5 n.
 Bermuda, condition of Negroes in, 79
 Betts, William C., 23, 25
 Birdsall, Fanny, 119
 Bishop and Withington, 119
 Bloomfield, Joseph, 11 n.
 Board of Managers, of Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, 42-44
 Board of Managers, of Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, effect of Wilbur-Gurney controversy on, 52; interests anti-slavery periodicals in free produce cause, 56, 111; leads in reviving *Non-Slaveholder*, 54 f., 106 f.; members to write articles for *Non-Slaveholder*, 55; organizes Mount Pleasant Free Produce Company, 52; promotes free produce cause at Oberlin College, 55; proposes publishing a periodical, 54 f.; supports *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, 56
 Board of Managers, of Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 36, 78, 85; buys "cottage gin," 73; changes name of Association, 37; committees of, 65 n.; desires to aid nonslaveholding farmers, 72; members of, 36; reports of, 37, 68 f.; transfers business to G. W. Taylor, 38
 "Body members," defined, 105 n.
Bond of Brotherhood (Elihu Burritt, ed.), 110; location of file of, 110 n.
 Bordentown, N. J., 119
 Boston, Mass., 76, 78, 101; free produce stores in, 81, 119
 Boston Sugar Refinery, 78
 Bouvier, John, 14, 15 n.
 Boycott of slave labor goods, 57, 59; adopted by Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, 34; first American society for the, 13; in Great Britain (1791), 9 f. *See also* Free produce movement, Free produce societies.
 Branagan, Thomas, condemns use of West Indian products, 8 f.
 Brannin, E., 119
 Brisson de Warville, Jacques Pierre, predicts use of maple sugar, 10
 British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Address published, 53 n.
 British India Society, 40
 Brosius, William, 20 n.
 Browne, Josias F., and Co., British cotton manufacturers, 58, 87, 95
 Buckingham (Pa.) Anti-Slavery Society, 103
 Buffum, Arnold, disowned for anti-slavery views, 31 n., 104; edits *Protectionist*, 104
 Burleigh, Charles Calistus, 25, 104 n.; edits *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 103 f.
 Burlington, N. J., residence of G. W. Taylor, 84
 Burritt, Elihu, 39, 46, 55, 108, 112; author of "A Comparison of stolen goods with slave labor produce," 53 n.; edits *Bond of Brotherhood*, 110; edits *Burritt's Christian Citizen*, 110 n.; edits *Citizen of the World*, 108; edits *The Slave; His Wrongs and Their Remedy*, 109; leads British free produce movement, 57, 89, 108, 110; publishes "Twenty Reasons for Total Abstinence from Slave Labour Produce," 110
Burritt's Christian Citizen (Worcester, Mass.), 110 n.; location of file of, 110 n.
Burritt's Citizen of the World, 56, 108 f., 111; location of files of, 109 n.; publicizes free produce movement, 109
 Byhalia, Marshall Co., Miss., source of free labor cotton, 71
 Cadwallader, Charles, 119
 Calcutta (India), 62, 95
 Canada, source of free labor tobacco, 61
 Canby, Charles, 13 n.
 Canton (China), source of free labor sugar, 60, 62
 Canton flannel, defined, 88 n.
 Cash transactions, found necessary in free produce business, 63; suspended during panic of 1857, 91
 Cattell, Ezra, 54

- Cavender, John H., 25
 Centre, Del., 112
 Centreville, Washington Co., Pa., 119
 Centreville Abolition Society (Washington Co., Pa.), 20
 Chace, Elizabeth (Buffum), 31 n.
Champion of Freedom, prospectus of, 44
 Chandler, Elizabeth Margaret, 112 f.
 Chandler, Margaret (Evans), 112
 Chandler, Thomas, 112
 Charles, Henry, 73 f.
 Charleston, S. C., 75
 Chester Co., Iowa, 119
 Chester Co., Pa., anti-slavery center, 20, 117; home of Taylor family, 83; site of G. W. Taylor's cotton mill, 89
 Chinese sugar cane, 79. *See* Sorghum cane
 Chocolate, produced by free labor, in Santo Domingo, 62
 Cincinnati, Ohio, 69, 74; wholesale center for free labor goods, 50 f., 82, 119
Citizen of the World. *See* Burritt's *Citizen of the World*
 City and County Anti-Slavery Society (Philadelphia), 23
 Clark Co., Ohio, anti-slavery center, 19 f., 50, 117
 Clarke and Porter, 119
 Clarkson, Thomas, 9 f.
 Clarkson Anti-Slavery Association of Citizens of Lancaster and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania, 20; issues call for Re-quired Labor Convention, 23
 Clarkson, Hall (Philadelphia), 15, 36
 Clegg, Thomas, British cotton manufacturer, 76
 Clement, Isaac, 119
 Clothier, Caleb, 25
 Coffee, produced by free labor, as goal of free produce movement, 60; in Haiti, 61; in Java, 78; in LaGuayra (Venezuela), 78; in Liberia, 95; in Maracaibo (Venezuela), 78; in Santo Domingo, 78; Wilmington Free Produce Society reports, 14
 Coffin, Levi, 33, 85, 93, 98, 105; comments on market for free labor goods, 64, 97; complains about quality of free labor goods, 64; conducts free produce store, 51, 82, 119; has cotton gins made, 69 f., 74; officer of Wayne Co. (Ind.) Free Produce Association, 49; seeks free labor cotton, 65, 69
 Collins, Charles, 60; conducts free produce store, 81, 119
 Collins Center, Erie Co., N. Y., 118; free produce society in, 45; Quakers of, join Progressive Friends, 24 n.
 Colonization of Negroes, condemned by Quakers, 30
 Colored Female Free Produce Society (Philadelphia), 19, 117
 Colored Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, 18 f., 117
 Columbiana County, Ohio, anti-slavery center, 19, 56, 108; market for free labor goods in, 97
 Comly, Samuel, purchases free labor cotton, 17
 Committee on Manufactures, of Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 85; amount of goods manufactured, 69, 70 f., 73; difficulties of, 69
 Committee on Required Labor, 35
 Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color, 33, 48
 Compromise of 1850, effect on anti-slavery movement, 38
 Connecticut, source of free labor tobacco, 62
 Cornish, Samuel E. (Negro), edits *Freedom's Journal*, 111
 Cost of free labor goods. *See* Free labor goods
 "Cottage gin" introduced, 73 f.
 Cotton, produced by free labor, amounts available, 66, 68, 71, 76; amounts obtained, 62, 64, 68, 72; as goal of free produce movement, 60; attempts to create large market for, 70 f., 91, 95; difficulties in ginning, 66 n.; in Alabama, 65, 74; in Illinois, 61 f.; in Louisiana, 72; in Mississippi, 65-68, 70 f., 74; in North Carolina, 17, 60; in Ohio, 61 f.; in Tennessee, 66 f., 71, 74; in Texas, 63, 72; inferior quality of, 64; Pennsylvania Free Produce Society seeks, 15; Philadelphia Free Produce Association purchases, 66, 69, 70; seeks, 37, 65; price of, 62, 67, 69, 70; proof of its free labor origin, 66; sea island variety not produced by free labor, 76; search for outside the United States, 76; shipped to England, 44, 69, 70, 73, 87-89; supply in the United

- States, scattered, 61, 76; cut off by Civil War, 91
- Cotton cloth, made from free labor cotton, amounts manufactured, 64, 73; by American Free Produce Association, 28; by Charles Collins, 60; by Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton, 17; by Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 37; complaints about quality of, 64, 71, 85; cost of, 64, 73, 97; difficulties in manufacture of, 69, 85; difficulties in obtaining, 39; first notice of, 13; G. W. Taylor manufactures, 89 f.; G. W. Taylor supplies all, 85; manufactured in England, 86 f.; varieties manufactured, 60, 62, 64, 73, 86-89, 98
- Cotton manufacturers, attitude toward using free labor cotton exclusively, 70, 85; free labor cotton handled at small mills only, 73, 85 f.
- Cotton market (United States), free produce leaders wish to destroy, 77
- Credit transactions, found unsuitable in free produce business, 63; adopted during panic of 1857, 91
- Crow, William, a nonslaveholding farmer, 68
- Davis, Micajah, 11 n.
- Delaine (cloth), defined, 88
- Delaware Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, endorses boycott of slave labor goods, 12
- Demerara (British Guiana), 79
- Depression of 1842, effect on free produce movement in the West, 49 f., on American Free Produce Association, 63
- Diggs, Pleasant, nonslaveholding farmer, 68
- Disownment of Quakers for anti-slavery views, 31, 104
- District Convention of Indiana Abolitionists, 48
- Douglass, Frederick, supports free produce cause, 75
- Earle, Thomas, 12
- East Indian sugar, a product of free labor, 10; tariffs discriminate against, 77 f.
- East Indies, source of free labor products, 61 f., 80, 95
- Economic aspects of free produce movement, 69 n., 70-72, 114. *See also* Free produce movement
- Eddy, Job, cotton manufacturer, 86
- Edgerton, Walter, 33 n.
- Egypt, source of free labor cotton, 65
- Egypt, N. J., 119
- Eli & Livezey, 119
- Ellis, David, 25
- Emancipation, immediate, 30
- Emancipation in British colonies, 26, 57, 62
- Emancipator* (Elihu Embree, ed.), 100 f.
- Embree, Elihu, 100 f.
- Emery, Moses, 119
- Executive Committee of the Eastern District Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania, publishes *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 103
- Fairchild, O., and Co., 119
- Farmington Quarterly Meeting (Ontario Co., N. Y.), address of published, 53 n.; supports free produce movement, 41
- Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton, declines, 18; organized, 16; purchases and manufactures cotton, 17 f., 61 f.
- Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, 57
- Ferrisburgh, Vt., 46 f., 118
- Field, Thomas S., and Company, agent for Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 69, 119
- Financing of free produce movement. *See* Free produce movement, finances of
- Fisher, Joel, conducts free produce store, 81 f., 119
- Fisler, Eve, grandmother of G. W. Taylor, 83
- "Floats" (in weaving), defined, 96 n.
- Florida, source of free labor sugar, 77
- Flushing, L. I., Friends' boarding school at, 84
- Foster, Abigail (Kelley), 22, 31 n.
- Foster, Stephen Symonds, 22 n.; endorses free produce cause, 114
- Fourth and Arch Street Meeting (Philadelphia), leader of conservative Friends, 32

- Fountain City, Ind., 33. *See* Newport, Ind.
- France, source of free labor products, 93
- Franklin, Benjamin, 5 n.
- Free labor, condition of not noticed, 77 n.; superior to slave labor, 12, 15, 40, 77
- Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle* (Newport, Wayne Co., Ind.; Benjamin Stanton and Henry H. Way, eds.), 32, 49; organ of Anti-Slavery Friends, 33, 104; publicizes free produce movement, 104
- Free Labor Association of Maine, 47, 118
- Free labor goods, authenticity of questioned, 37, 64, 66, 97; cash transactions necessary in sale of, 63; complaints about quality of, 64, 71, 85, 97-99; demand for, 15-17, 22, 81, 85, 96 f.; difficulties in obtaining, 39, 87; effect of panic of 1842 on, 49 f.; higher price of, 64, 97 f.; manufacture of, 13, 17, 28, 60, 62, 64, 69, 73, 85-87; seasonal market for, 87; supplied to Friends' boarding schools, 38, 63
- Free labor products, American Free Produce Association lists sources of, 26 f.; optimism concerning supply of, 18, 77 f.; search for, 15 f., 37, 60-80. *See also* Cotton, Rice, Sugar, Coffee, Indigo, Tobacco, and names of various free produce societies
- Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society of Monroe County, Ohio, 19, 117
- Free Produce Association at Collins and Its Vicinity (Erie Co., N. Y.), 45, 118
- Free Produce Association of Friends in Ferrisburgh (Vt.) Monthly Meeting, 47
- Free Produce Association of Friends of New England Yearly Meeting, 45 f., 59, 118; members sign pledge, 46
- Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, 46, 59, 75, 78, 117; finances of, 42-44; issues tracts, 43; meetings of, 42-44; organized, 41; sponsors store, 42, 82; supports *Non-Slaveholder*, 44
- Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, 59, 118; auxiliary societies of, 56; contributes articles to Ohio newspapers, 111; finances of, 52, 54 f.; leads in reviving *Non-Slaveholder*, 54 f., 106 f.; organized, 52; plans to publish *Remembrancer*, 54 f.; publishes tracts, 53-56, 106
- Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 36, 59, 64. *See* Philadelphia Free Produce Association
- Free Produce Association of Western Vermont, 46, 118
- Free produce movement, as a Quaker movement, vii, 59, 115; attempt to make it national in scope, 39, 55; defined, vii; economic aspects of, 69 n., 70-72, 114; finances of, 13, 17, 27, 28, 36, 37, 42, 51, 59, 83, 85, 111; its contribution of Quakerism, 115 f.; numbers engaged in, 14, 36, 53, 56, 115; obscurity of leaders of, vii, 111; propaganda of, 7, 8-10, 15 f., 19, 22, 25-28, 34-38, 43 f., 53-56, 100-113; records of vii, 111; reasons for failure of, 114 f.; summarized, 58, 113-116
- Free produce societies, among New York Orthodox Friends, 39-44; among Philadelphia Hicksite Friends, 34 f.; among Philadelphia Orthodox Friends, 35-39; estimated membership of, 110; first one organized, 13; in Great Britain, 57 f.; in Indiana, 48-50; in Iowa, 56 f.; in New England, 45-47; in North Carolina, 47 f.; in Ohio, 19 f., 52-55; in Pennsylvania, 14-19, 23-29, 35-39; in western New York, 44; list of, 117 f.; search for free labor goods is chief work of, 60; summary of, 58 f.
- Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, 58, 117; Address to American Convention, 16, 18; expands work, 18; organized, 14; seeks free labor products, 15, 60; sells free labor goods, 62
- Free produce stores, 18, 38, 62; find cash transactions necessary, 63; in Baltimore, 81, 119; in Cincinnati, 50 f., 82, 119; in Great Britain, 58; in Indiana, 82, 119; in Iowa, 57, 119; in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 52, 82, 119; in New Jersey, 81, 119; in New York, 42-44, 62, 81, 82, 92, 119; in Ohio, 52, 71, 82, 97, 119; in Philadelphia, 63, 81-83, 119; in the West, 49, 82,

- 97, 119; in Wilmington, Del., 62, 119; list of, 119; numbers of 81 f.; proposals to establish, 24, 26, 37; sources of information concerning, 82 n.; wholesale business of, 81, 82
- Freedom's Journal* (New York; Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm, Negroes, eds.), 111; location of file of, 111 n.
- Friend, The*, G. W. Taylor publishes, 84; liberal Quakers dissatisfied with, 106
- Friend of Freedom and Free Labor Advocate* (Sodus Bay, N. Y.), 44
- Friends, Society of, and Abolition movement, 3 f., 30; attitude toward social reform, 3, 115 f.; conservative faction disapproves of free produce movement, 38, 114; controlled by conservative faction, 31; importance of free produce movement in, 115 f.; radical faction in, 3 f., 31, 114; reforms advocated by, 115
- Friends, Society of (Conservative or Wilburite), formed by seceding faction in New England and Ohio, 32
- Friends, Society of (Hicksite), activity of in free produce cause, 22 f.; compromise on slavery question in Philadelphia, 34; disown members for anti-slavery views, 31 n.; organize Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour, 34 f.; support free produce movement, in Ohio, 52, in western New York, 44
- Friends, Society of (Orthodox), conservative faction disapproves of free produce movement, 32, 39, 102, 104; members form free produce societies, 35, 52. *See also* names of the various yearly meetings
- Friends' Bible and Tract Association, G. W. Taylor is agent for, 84
- Friends' Intelligencer*, 111
- Friends' Review* (Enoch Lewis, ed.), 39; publicizes free produce movement, 106, 111; represents liberal portion of Quakers, 106
- Friends' Preparative Meeting School (Burlington, N. J.), G. W. Taylor teaches at, 84
- Fugitive Slave Law (1850), a blow to abolition movement, 56
- Garnett, Henry H. (Negro), edits *Impartial Citizen*, 111
- Garrett, Edward, 36, 65 n.
- Garrison, Wendell Phillips, 102
- Garrison, William Lloyd, attends American Free Produce Association meeting, 26; association with Benjamin Lundy, 101; endorses free produce cause, 21, 102, 114; edits *Liberator*, 101 f.; repudiates free produce cause, 21 n., 102, 114
- General Anti-Slavery Conventions (London, 1840, 1843), 26, 57
- Genius of Universal Emancipation* (Benjamin Lundy, ed.), 101; Elizabeth M. Chandler contributes to, 112 f.; location of files of, 13 n.; publicizes free produce movement, 101
- Georgia, secession sentiment in, 74 f.
- German immigrants, as producers of free labor cotton, 109; as producers of free labor sugar, 74 n., 79 f.
- Gibbons, James S., 23 n., 31 n.
- Gibbons, William, 13 n.
- Gilbert, E. W., 13 n.
- Ginger, produced by free labor, in Liberia, 80
- Ginning free labor cotton, difficulties encountered in, 66 n.; Nathan Thomas arranges for, 67
- Gins (cotton), 5; "cottage gin" introduced, 73; owned chiefly by slaveholders, 66; owned by nonslaveholding farmers, 73; rented by nonslaveholding farmers, 70; supplied to nonslaveholding farmers, 67, 70
- Goddell, William, remarks on free produce cause, 25 n.
- Grant County, Ind., 119
- Grave, Jacob, 49
- Great Britain, 93; anti-slavery societies in, 57; emancipation in colonies of, 26, 57; free labor cotton manufactured in, 86 f.; free produce movement in, 43, 57 f.; sugar boycotted in, 9 f.
- Green Plain, Clark Co., Ohio, 119; anti-slavery center, 19 f.; Western Free Produce convention at, 50

- Green Plain Free Produce Society (Clark Co., Ohio), 19 f., 117
- Green Plain Quarterly Meeting (Hicksite) (Clark Co., Ohio), joins Progressive Friends, 24 n.
- Greeneville, Tenn., 101
- Greensboro, Henry Co., Ind., free produce store in, 63 n., 119; Western Free Produce Convention at, 50
- Grew, Henry, 25
- Grey, William & Co., 119
- Griffitts, Samuel Powell, 11 n.
- Guilford County, N. C., 118; source of free labor cotton, 17 f., 61
- Gunn, Lewis C., 25; publishes *Address to Abolitionists*, 25 f.
- Gurney, Joseph John, 114; and doctrinal controversy, 32, 105
- Haiti, source of free labor products, 60 f.
- Hallowell, William S., 14
- Hallowell, Me., 119
- Hambleton, Alice Eliza, 25
- Hampton, Martha, 25
- Harrison County, Ohio, 20, 117
- Harrisville Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society (Harrison Co., Ohio), 20, 117
- Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., 38 n.
- Hawaii, source of free labor products, 63 n., 78, 78 n.
- Herald of Freedom* (Wilmington, Ohio), location of file of, 111 n.; publicizes free produce movement, 111
- Hicks, Elias, condemns use of slave labor goods, 7 f.; doctrinal controversy, 7 n.
- Hicksite Friends. *See* Friends, Society of (Hicksite)
- Hilles, Eli, 13 n.
- Hinshaw, Seth, conducts free produce store, 63 n., 119
- Hoag, Lindley Murray, conducts free produce store, 42, 82, 119
- Hodgson, Adam, writes letter on free and slave labor costs, 12
- Holland, source of free labor sugar, 93
- Holly Springs, Miss., Nathan Thomas visits, 66
- Hopper, Isaac Tatem, 14, 15 n.; disowned, 23 n., 31 n.; publishes *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 110
- Horn, John, 6 f.
- Hostility of the South, resulting from slavery question, 68, 74 f.
- Hunt, J. Anderson, nonslaveholding farmer, 68; hires a slave, 74; receives cotton gin, 70 f.
- Hunt, Nathan, Jr., supplies free labor cotton, 17 f., 61
- Hunt, R. S., nonslaveholding farmer, 68
- Illinois, source of free labor cotton, 61 f.
- Imlay, Gilbert, predicts use of maple sugar, 10
- Impartial Citizen* (Syracuse, N. Y.; Henry H. Garnett, Negro, ed.), 111
- Imphee (sorghum cane), 80
- India, "cottage gin" used in, 73; slavery in, 20; source of free labor products, 63, 76, 78; sugar production hampered by tariffs, 77
- Indiana, 100; free produce movement in, 48-50, 115
- Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends (Orthodox), 49, 105; adopts free labor principle, 34; arranges free produce conventions, 50; *Free Labor Advocate* reflects views of, 104; organized, 33
- Indiana Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), "lays down" Green Plain Quarterly Meeting, 24 n.
- Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), acknowledges error, 33 f.; Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color of, 33, 48; dissension between radicals and conservatives, 32, 49, 104; secession of radical faction, 33
- Indigo, produced by free labor, 63 n.
- Inglis, Bessie, conducts free produce store, 58
- Iowa, free produce movement in, 56 f., 97, 118, 119
- Iowa Free Produce Association, 118
- Isle of Wight County, Va., source of free labor products, 80
- Jaffrey, N. H., resident of attempts to make sugar from potatoes, 78
- Java, source of free labor products, 60, 62, 78
- Jefferson, Thomas, plants maple trees, 11
- Jenkins, George K., 107 n.
- Johnson, Israel H., 36, 65 n.
- Johnson, William H., 25

- Jonesboro, Ind., 119
 Jonesboro, Tenn., 100
- Kaolin, Chester Co., Pa., 83
 Kelley, Abigail. *See* Foster, Abigail (Kelley)
 Kennett Square, Chester Co., Pa., 119; center of Progressive Friends, 23 n.
 Kentucky, source of free labor tobacco, 62
 Kenworthy, Jesse, 20
 Kesley, William, 16
 Koloa Plantation, Hawaii, 78 n.
 Krafft, John H., Memphis cotton factor, 66 f., 72
- Lafayette County, Miss., 67
 La Guayra (Venezuela), source of free labor products, 60, 63 n., 78
 Laing, A., 119
 Lamb, Michael, opens free produce store, 81, 119
 Lay, Benjamin, 5
 Leech, Thomas, and Company, cotton factors, 67, 91
 Levering, Griffith, organizes Alum Creek Free Produce Association, 56
 Lewis, Alice (Jackson), 6
 Lewis, Enoch, 6; attends North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 47; author of free produce tract, 53 n.; edits *Friends' Review*, 106; officer of Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 36; teacher, 83 f.
 Lewis, Sidney Ann, 25, 119
Liberator (W. L. Garrison, ed.), 101; publicizes free produce movement, 101
 Liberia, source of free labor products, 76, 80, 94 f.
 Lindley, C. K., 48
 Little Rock, Ark., 72
 Liverpool, free labor cotton shipped to, 70, 73, 87
 London (England), 83; center of free produce movement, 58
 London Yearly Meeting, discusses free produce cause, 57 f.; sends mission to reconcile factions of Indiana Yearly Meeting, 33
 Louisiana, source of free labor products, 72, 78 f.; sugar production protected, 80
 Lundy, Benjamin, 21, 77; addresses Colored Free Produce Society, 19; first to seek free labor products, 60 f.; founds Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, 12 n.; in American Convention, 12, 16; journalistic work of, 100 f., 112; opens free produce store, 81, 119; visits Texas, 101
 Lynn, Mass., free produce stores in, 81, 119
- Mabbett, le. *See* Mabbett, Lorenzo
 Mabbett, Lorenzo, 44 f.; author of free produce tract, 53 n.
 McClintock, Thomas, 14, 15 n.
 McClure, Robert, 119
 McKim, James Miller, 63; edits *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 103 f.
 McRay, William, nonslaveholding farmer, 68, 74; promises to supply free labor cotton, 70
 Macy, Jonathan, 119
 Maine, free produce movement in, 47, 97
 Managers. *See* Board of Managers
 Manchester (England), free produce store in, 58; manufacture of free labor cotton in, 58
 Manchester, Me., 47, 118
 Manila, Philippine Islands, source of free labor products, 63 n., 78
 Manufacture of free labor cotton. *See* Cotton cloth, made from free labor cotton; Mill, to manufacture free labor cotton
 Manufacturers. *See* Cotton manufacturers
 Manufacturing Committee. *See* Committee on Manufactures
 Manumission societies, 30
 Maple sugar, 62; increase in production of, 80; only sugar produced by free labor in United States, 61; substitute for slave-grown cane sugar, 10, 78
 Maracaibo (Venezuela), source of free labor products, 78
 Marion County (Ohio) Free Produce Association, 48, 117
 Marriott, Charles, advocates free produce cause, 22, 23 n.; disowned, 31 n.
 Marshall County, Miss., source of free labor cotton, 68
 Maryland Anti-Slavery Society. *See* Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland
 Meeting for Sufferings, action in Indiana Yearly Meeting, 32; defined, 31 n.;

- supports free produce movement in New York, 41
- Meetinghouses (Quaker), closed to abolitionists, 31; closed to free produce societies, 31, 38
- Memphis (Tenn.) cotton market, 66, 71-73
- Methodist Episcopal Church, 3, 30
- Mexican War, Quakers' view of, 38
- Mexico, source of free labor products, 77 f.
- Michigan (Territory), 112
- Mifflin, Warner, 6, 12
- Miles, Henry, 46 n., 55; contributes articles to *Vergennes* (Vt.) *Citizen*, 111; organizes free produce societies in Vermont, 46; promotes national free produce movement, 39, 46; seeks free labor products, 80
- Mill, to manufacture free labor cotton, G. W. Taylor operates, 89-91, 96; proposed, 39, 56
- Miller, Daniel L., Jr., 25, 64; buys free labor cotton, 67
- Miller, Samuel, 11 n.
- Mississippi, source of free labor cotton, 65-68, 70, 71, 74
- Missouri Compromise, 100 f.
- Mobile, Ala., 74
- Molasses, from free labor sources, attempt to make it from potatoes, 78; Charles Pierce sells, 62; made from sorghum cane, 79 f.; Pennsylvania Free Produce Society seeks, 15
- Monroe County, Ohio, anti-slavery center, 19, 117
- Monthly meetings, 31 n.
- Morris, Thomas, 50
- Morrow County, Ohio, free produce movement in, 50 n., 56, 97, 118
- Morton, R., 75
- Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I., 38 n.
- Mott, James, 14, 15 n., 119
- Mott, Lucretia, 25, 31 n., 99
- Mount Pleasant, Ohio, anti-slavery center, 52, 100, 118; free produce store at, 52, 119
- Mount Pleasant Free Produce Company, operates a store, 82, 119; organized, 52; records of, 56
- Murfreesboro, N. C., source of free labor cotton, 60
- Murray, Robert Lindley, conducts free produce store, 42 f., 82, 119; ships cotton to England, 73, 87; supplies free labor sugar, 92-94
- Nansemond County, Va., source of free labor products, 80
- National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), publicizes free produce movement, 110
- National Enquirer and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty* (Philadelphia; Benjamin Lundy, ed.), location of files of, 103 n.; publicizes free produce movement, 103
- Negroes, colonization of condemned by Quakers, 30; condition of, in British West Indies, 57 n., 73; edit anti-slavery papers, 110; "murdered" by consumers of slave labor products, 10; raise tobacco in Canada, 61
- New Bedford, Mass., 86
- New England, Benjamin Lundy visits, 101; free produce societies in, 45-47, 115; Wilbur-Gurney controversy in, 32
- New Garden, Pa., 83
- New Garden Anti-Slavery Society (Columbiana Co., Ohio), 19
- New Garden Quarterly Meeting (Guilford Co., N. C.), supports free produce cause, 48
- New Garden Quarterly Meeting (Wayne Co., Ind.), supports free produce cause, 48
- New Hampshire, resident of attempts to make sugar from potatoes, 78
- New Jersey, free produce stores in, 81, 119
- New Orleans (La.), Nathan Thomas visits, 72, 74
- New York (state), free produce movement in, 41-44, 115; free produce stores in, 81, 119
- New York City, 78, 85, 92, 117, 119; free produce stores in, 42-44, 62
- New York Manumission Society, republishes Adam Hodgson's letter, 12
- New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), attitude toward free produce movement, 40 f.; members form free produce society, 41-44

- Newcastle-on-Tyne (England), anti-slavery press at, 109 f.; free produce movement in, 58
- Newport, Jesse W., 16
- Newport, R. I., 118
- Newport, Wayne Co., Ind., anti-slavery convention held at, 49; center of Anti-Slavery Friends, 33, 104; free produce stores in, 63 n., 119; *Free Labor Advocate* published at, 104; *Protectionist* published at, 104
- Nine Partners School (Schenectady, N. Y.), 38 n.
- Non-Slaveholder* (Philadelphia), 38, 39, 42, 45, 56; avoids doctrinal issues, 105; ceases publication, 106; is revived, 54 f., 107 f.; location of files of, 108 n.; publicizes free produce movement, 105, 108; reception among Friends generally, 105; succeeded by *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, 108
- Nonslaveholding farmers in the South, competition with slave labor, 69 n., 72; free produce societies desire to aid them, 15, 72; source of free labor cotton, 15, 17, 37, 60-62, 65, 68, 70-72
- North American Free Labor Produce Association, 40, 46, 109, 118
- North Carolina, source of free labor products, 17, 18, 60, 62 f., 65, 80
- North Carolina Free Produce Association, 47, 118; effect of Compromise of 1850 on, 47 f.
- Oberlin College (Oberlin, Ohio), free produce movement at, 55
- Oberlin Evangelist* (Ohio), location of file of, 111 n.; publicizes free produce movement, 111
- "Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again" (poem), 113
- Ohio, 101; free produce movement in, 19 f., 52-56, 115; free produce stores in, 50-52, 82, 119; G. W. Taylor visits, 84; Wilbur-Gurney controversy in, 32
- Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, 19
- Ohio Columbian* (Columbus), location of file of, 111; publicizes free produce movement, 111
- Ohio Free Produce Association. *See* Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting
- Ohio Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), approves free produce movement, 52
- Ohio Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), approves free produce cause, 56; members form free produce society, 52 f.
- Orthodox Friends. *See* Friends, Society of (Orthodox)
- Osborn, Charles, vii; edits *Philanthropist*, 100; removed from Meeting for Sufferings, 32
- Oxford Free Produce Society (Chester Co., Pa.), 20, 22. *See also* Union Free Produce Society
- Palmer, Jonathan, Jr., 14
- Palmer, Norris W., 119
- Park, J., 119
- Parker, Joel, conducts free produce store, 63 n., 93, 119
- Parker, Joseph, 14, 16
- Parrish, Joseph, 14, 15 n., 16
- Peirce, Isaac, 13 n., 119
- Pennock, Abraham L., edits *Non-Slaveholder*, 105; officer of free produce societies, 14, 25, 36, 65 n.
- Pennock, Amy, 119
- Pennsylvania, 84; Executive Committee of the Eastern District Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania publishes *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 103; free produce movement in, 14-19, 23-29, 35-39, 115
- Pennsylvania Freeman* (Philadelphia), 110; John Greenleaf Whittier edits, 103; J. Miller McKim edits, 103 f.; location of files of, 104 n.; publicizes free produce movement, 103
- Pennsylvania Hall (Philadelphia), 23; burning of, 24
- Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race, 15 n.; endorses free produce idea, 16; refuses to participate in Required Labor Convention, 24
- Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, origin, 23. *See also* Progressive Friends
- Pepper, produced by free labor, in Liberia, 95
- Percival, B., 119

- Permanent Board, defined, 31 n.
- Perquimans County, N. C., source of free labor products, 80
- Peterson, George, 14
- Philadelphia, 112, 117, 119; anti-slavery societies in, 23 f.; free produce societies in, 14-19, 23-29, 35-39, 115; free produce stores in, 63, 81, 83, 119; panic of 1857 in, 91
- Philadelphia City Anti-Slavery Society, 23
- Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 27 f.
- Philadelphia Free Produce Association of Friends, 57, 98, 118; amounts of cotton purchased, 68, 70, 73; attempts to create large market for free labor cotton, 70, 71, 95; cost of cotton purchased, 67, 69, 70, 73; effect of Compromise of 1850 on, 38; employs agent to seek free labor cotton, 37, 65 f., 71; finances of, 69-71, 73, 85; investigates free labor character of Puerto Rican sugar, 79; manufactures cotton cloth, 69, 70 f., 73; meetings of, 37-40; organized, 36; purchases free labor cotton, 66, 69, 70; purposes of, 64 f.; seeks free labor products, 65, 97; sells goods to Levi Coffin, 51; ships cotton to England, 70; transfers goods to G. W. Taylor, 38, 73; value of goods in 1848, 73. *See also* Board of Managers, Committee on Manufactures
- Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), members form Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour, 34 f.
- Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), 36 f.; conservative faction disapproves of free produce movement, 38, 40, 105; influence of Wilbur-Gurney controversy on, 32, 105; members form free produce society, 36; "Minute on Slavery" of, 40 n.
- Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, 6
- Philanthropist* (Mount Pleasant, Ohio; Charles Osborn, ed.), 100
- Philippine Islands, source of free labor products, 63 n., 78
- Pickering, Elihu, 36, 65 n.
- Pierce, Charles, 80; amount of goods sold by, 62, 78; conducts free produce store, 18, 81, 119
- Pierce, James L., conducts free produce store, 81, 119
- "Plain dress," G. W. Taylor adopts, 84; Quaker testimony, 86
- "Plain language," G. W. Taylor uses, 84
- Political aspects of abolition movement, 30
- Poole, William, 11 n.
- Potatoes, attempt to make sugar from, 78
- Premiums, offered for free labor products, 19, 21 n., 61, 80
- Presbyterian church, 3
- Printing cloth, defined, 86 n.
- Prize goods, defined, 100 n.; synonymous with slave labor goods, 4, 7
- Progressive Friends, 23 n., 33 n., 114
- Propaganda of the free produce movement, 7, 8-10, 15 f., 19, 22, 25-28, 34-38, 43 f., 53-56, 100-113
- Protectionist* (Newport, Wayne Co., Ind.; Arnold Buffum, ed.), 104; location of file of, 104 n.
- Puerto Rico, free labor character of products questioned, 78; source of free labor products, 18, 62, 78
- Pugh, Sarah, 25
- Pusey, Lea, 13 n.
- Quakers, attitude toward slavery, 3 f.; free produce movement associated with, 21, 59; support manumission societies, 30. *See also* Friends, Society of
- Quality of free labor goods, complaints about, 64, 71, 85, 97-99
- Quarterly meetings, 31 n.
- Radnor, Pa., 83
- Rahway, N. J., 119
- Rawle, William, 14
- Remembrancer*, 107
- Required Labor Convention, 23-25; forms American Free Produce Association, 24; reported in *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 103; societies represented in, 24 n.
- Reynolds, John, 13 n.
- Rhoads, Samuel, edits *Non-Slaveholder*, 105, 107; officer of Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 36, 65 n.; publishes tract on free produce, 35 f.; trustee of free produce funds, 96

- Rhode Island, 38 n., 81, 104; free produce movement in, 45 f.
- Rice, produced by free labor, as goal of free produce movement, 60; G. W. Taylor obtains, 95; in East Indies, 18 n., 80, 95; in Liberia, 80; in North Carolina, 18, 80; in Virginia, 80; Pennsylvania Free Produce Society seeks, 15; Philadelphia Free Produce Association seeks, 37, 72, 74 n.; scarcity of, in United States, 61
- Richards, David, grandfather of G. W. Taylor, 83
- Richards, Elizabeth (Megee), grandmother of G. W. Taylor, 83
- Richards, William P., 13 n.
- Richardson, Anna H., edits *The Slave*, 109
- Richardson, Richard, trustee of free produce funds, 96
- Richmond, Ind., free labor cotton spun at, 61
- Rochester, N. Y., 75
- Rogers, William, 11 n.
- Rowland, Joseph G., 13 n.
- Rush, Benjamin, advocates use of maple sugar, 10
- Russell, Henry, 119
- Russwurm, John B. (Negro), edits *Freedom's Journal*, 111
- Saco, Me., 119
- St. Croix (West Indies), source of free labor sugar, 79, 94
- St. Lucia (West Indies), source of free labor sugar, 92
- St. Thomas (West Indies), G. W. Taylor visits, 79
- Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio, anti-slavery center, 19, 56; supports *Non-Slaverholder*, 108
- Salem (Columbiana Co., Ohio) Abolition and Colonization Society, 19
- Salem, Henry Co., Iowa, anti-slavery center, 56 f., 118
- Salem, Union Co., Ind., free produce movement in, 50 f.
- Sampson, Alden, 119
- Sandiford, Ralph, 4 f.
- Sandwich, Mass., 119
- Sandwich Islands. *See* Hawaii
- Santo Domingo, source of free labor products, 60, 62, 63 n., 78
- Savannah, Ga., 75
- Say, Jean-Baptiste, letter to, on slave and free labor costs, 12
- Scarlet, C. M. & M. J., 119
- Scholfield, David, 16
- Scipio Quarterly Meeting (Cayuga Co., N. Y.), supports free produce movement, 40
- Shipley, Thomas, 14, 15 n., 16
- Shoemaker, Nathan, 14
- Slave, The; His Wrongs and Their Remedy* (Newcastle-on-Tyne, England), 58; Elihu Burritt edits, 109; location of file of, 109 n.
- Slave labor, compared with free labor, 12, 15, 40; competition with white labor in the South, 69 n., 72; purpose of free produce movement to make it unprofitable, 77
- Slave labor goods, abolitionists claim special right to use, 102, 114; use of condemned by William Allen, 8; by American Anti-Slavery Society, 21; by American Convention, 11 f.; by American Free Produce Association, 24; by Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, 22; by Thomas Branagan, 8 f.; by British public, 9 f.; by Delaware and Maryland Anti-Slavery Societies, 12; by Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton, 16 f.; by Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, 16; by W. L. Garrison, 21, 102; by Elias Hicks, 7; by John Horn, 6 f.; by Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, 34; by Benjamin Lay, 5; by Alice (Jackson) Lewis, 6; by Benjamin Lundy, 12 f.; by Charles Marriott, 22; by Warner Mifflin, 6; by Requisite Labor Convention, 24; by Samuel Rhoads, 35; by Union Free Produce Society, 20; by John Woolman, 4-6
- "Slave Produce" (poem), 113
- Slave trade, 4; British attempt to abolish (1791), 9 f.
- Slavery, 3; as a national issue, 74; in British colonies, 26, 57; in India, 20; in Venezuela, 60 n.; in West Indies, 4, 6, 10; opposition to after American Revolution, 10

- Slaves, "murdered" by consumers of slave labor products, 10; paid for ginning cotton, 66 n.
- Small, Coleman & Co., 119
- Small, John, 72
- Small, S., 119
- Smith, Elihu Hubbard, 11 n.
- Smith, Gerrit, vii, 25; endorses free produce cause, 114; gives money to Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 69 n.
- Smith, Samuel, 14
- Sorghum cane and molasses, 79 f.
- South, the, agitated by slavery question, 74 f.; reaction to free produce movement, 68, 74 f.; source of free labor cotton, 65-68, 70-74
- South Africa, source of free labor cotton, 76
- South America, source of free labor products, 61, 76
- South Carolina, secession sentiment in, 74 f.; source of free labor cotton, 18, 62
- Southampton County, Va., source of free labor products, 80
- Southwick, Thankful, 22
- Spiceland, Ind., anti-slavery convention held at, 49
- Spices, produced by free labor, 95
- Staines (England), 83
- Stanton, Benjamin, edits *Free Labor Advocate*, 104; officer of Wayne County Free Produce Association, 49; removed from Meeting for Sufferings, 32
- Stanton, Henry B., 30
- Stanton, Nathan, operates free produce store, 75, 119
- Starr, C. W., spins free labor cotton, 61
- Stores. *See* Free produce stores
- Stowe, Calvin Ellis, addresses free produce meeting, 58; endorses free produce movement, 89, 110
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, vii; addresses free produce meeting, 58; endorses free produce movement, 89, 110
- Stuart, R. L. & A., sugar refiners, 92
- Sturge, Joseph, 57; gives money to Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 71
- Sugar, attempt to make it from potatoes, 78; grades of, 92 f.; price of, 94; production in Louisiana protected, 80; tariffs on, 77, 93. *See also* West Indian sugar, East Indian sugar
- Sugar, maple. *See* Maple sugar
- Sugar, produced by free labor, as goal of free produce movement, 60; difficulties in procuring, 77 f.; G. W. Taylor's trade in, 92-94; in East Indies, 10, 77 f.; in Hawaii, 78; in India, 77; in LaGuayra (Venezuela), 78, 92; in Mexico, 77, 78; in Philippine Islands, 78, 92; in Puerto Rico, 78 f.; in St. Croix, 79, 94; in St. Lucia, 92; in St. Thomas, 79; in West Indies, 61 f., 76, 77-79; Nathan Thomas seeks, 74; Pennsylvania Free Produce Society seeks, 15, 18; Philadelphia Free Produce Association seeks, 37; scarcity of, in United States, 61
- "Sugar-Plums, The" (poem), 113
- Suspicion as to authenticity of free labor products, 37, 64, 66, 97. *See also* Free labor goods
- Syracuse, N. Y., 111
- Taber, Louis, author of free produce tract, 53 n.
- Taft, Levi, 44
- Tallahatchie River, 67
- Tappan, Lewis, 25
- Tatham, Benjamin, 75
- Taylor, Elizabeth (Burton), third wife of G. W. Taylor, 84
- Taylor, Elizabeth (Richards), mother of G. W. Taylor, 83
- Taylor, Elizabeth (Sykes), first wife of G. W. Taylor, 84
- Taylor, Francis, grandfather of G. W. Taylor, 83
- Taylor, George Washington, 57, 75; biography, 83 f.; conducts free produce store, 82, 83, 92, 97, 119; difficulties in free produce business, 87 f., 98; edits *Non-Slaveholder*, 105-107; effect of panic of 1857 on, 91, 96; financial difficulties of, 83, 85, 87, 89, 95 f.; has cloth manufactured in England, 86 f.; investigates free labor character of Puerto Rican sugar, 79; mail order business of, 85, 97; manufacturing difficulties of, 85 f., 87; officer of Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 36, 65 n., 85; operates cotton mill, 89-91, 96, 98 f.; proposes to establish cotton mill, 39, 89; purchases business location, 85; relations with em-

- ployees, 91, 96; publishes *Burritt's Citizen of the World*, 108; rice trade, 95; ships cotton to England, 88; sugar trade, 92-94; supplies all free labor goods, 85; takes over business of Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 38, 73; visits West Indies, 79 f., 85
 Taylor, Jacob, father of G. W. Taylor, 83
 Taylor, Mary, great-grandmother of G. W. Taylor, 83
 Taylor, Richard, great-grandfather of G. W. Taylor, 83
 Taylor, Ruth (Leeds), second wife of G. W. Taylor, 84
 Temperance movement, 30, 115
 Tennessee, 101; source of free labor cotton, 65, 71, 74
 Texas, Benjamin Lundy visits, 101; Nathan Thomas visits, 72; source of free labor products, 63, 72, 76, 78 f., 109
 Thacker, Dr., an unwilling slaveholder, 70
 Thomas, Nathan, 76; comments on secession sentiment in Georgia, 74; comments on Southern people, 69 n.; death of, 75, 76 n.; estate of, 75 n.; extracts from his letters published, 53 n.; how received in the South, 68, 74 f.; remuneration as agent, 68, 72 n.; reports as agent for Philadelphia Free Produce Association, 68, 75; seeks free labor cotton in the South, 65, 71-74; seeks free labor sugar, 74, 78 f; visits Philadelphia, 75
 Thomas, Zebulon, 119
 Tobacco, produced by free labor, in Canada, 61; in Connecticut, 62; in Kentucky, 62; in Ohio, 61; Pennsylvania Free Produce Society seeks, 15
 Towne, Ezra, 92; conducts free produce store, 43, 82, 119
 Townsend, John, 119
 Townsend, Joseph, 11 n.
 Trinidad, 79
 Tropical Free Labor Company, 57
 Truman, George, 119
 Tucker, Benjamin, 14, 15 n.
 Twelfth Street Meeting (Philadelphia), leader in free produce movement, 32
 Underground Railroad, 33, 107 n.
 Union County, Indiana, free produce movement in, 49
 Union Free Produce Society (Chester Co., Pa.), 20, 117
 Unthank, Jonathan, 49
 Venezuela, slavery in, 60 n.; source of free labor products, 60, 63 n., 78
 Vergennes (Vt.) Citizen, Henry Miles contributes to, 111; location of file of, 111 n.
 Vermont, 81; free produce movement in, 46
 Virginia, source of free labor products, 46, 80
 Ward, Sir Henry G., envoy to Mexico, 77
 Washington, N. C., source of free labor cotton and rice, 18
 Way, Henry H., edits *Free Labor Advocate*, 104; officer of Wayne County (Ind.) Free Produce Association, 49; removed from Meeting for Sufferings, 32; reorganizes Western Free Produce Association, 51
 Way, Moorman, 65
 Wayne County, Ind., free produce movement in, 48 f., 117
 Wayne County (Ind.) Free Produce Association, 49, 117
 Wayne County, N. Y., free produce movement in, 44 f., 117
Wealth of Nations (a projected periodical), 109
 Webb, Benjamin, 13 n.
 Webb, Jane, 119
 Webster, Henry, manager of G. W. Taylor's cotton mill, 89, 96
 Weld, Theodore Dwight, 30; boycotts slave labor goods, 21, 114
 West, the, free produce movement in, 48-57, 59, 104, 115; market for free labor goods in, 64, 71, 97 f.
West Chester Recorder (Pa.), 100
 West Indian sugar, boycotted in Great Britain (1791), 9 f.; emancipation makes it a free labor product, 61, 78 f.; protected by tariff, 77; to be replaced by maple sugar, 10; use of condemned, 6-8

- West Indies, condition of Negroes in, 57 n., 73; emancipation in, 62; slavery in, 4, 6, 10; source of free labor products, 61 f., 76, 77, 79
- Westbury Quarterly Meeting (N. Y.), 44
- Western Free Produce Association (Ohio and Ind.), 59, 117; annual meetings, 50; finances, 51; organized, 49; records of, 52; reorganized, 51
- Western Manufacturing Company, 51
- Western New York Free Produce Association, 44, 117
- Westtown School, Westtown, Pa., 38 n.; G. W. Taylor teaches at, 84
- Whetstone, Marion Co., Ohio, 48, 117
- Whipper, William, 119
- White, George F., disowned, 31 n.
- White, Lydia, 25, 63; conducts free produce store, 81, 119
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, vii; edits *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 103, 112; endorses free produce cause, 112, 114
- Wilbur, John, and doctrinal controversy, 32
- Wilbur-Gurney controversy, 32; effect on Ohio Free Produce Association, 52
- Wilburite Friends. *See* Friends, Society of (Conservative or Wilburite)
- Williamson, Francis, 60
- Wilmington, Del., free produce movement in, 13 f., 117; free produce stores in, 62, 119
- Wilmington (Del.) Society for the Encouragement of Free Labor, 117; action in American Convention, 16, 60; organized, 13; seeks free labor products, 13 f.
- Wingrave, John, British cotton manufacturer, 88
- Wise, Charles, 64; conducts free produce store, 81, 82 n., 119
- Wistar, Caspar, 11 n.
- Wistar, Thomas, Jr., 36, 65 n.
- Women, appealed to in promoting free produce cause, 17, 21, 112 f. *See also* Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women
- Women's rights movement, 3, 22 n., 30
- Wood, George, conducts free produce store, 42, 82, 119
- Woodward, ———, 119
- Woolman, John, 35; condemns use of slave labor goods, 4-6
- World Anti-Slavery Conventions. *See* General Anti-Slavery Conventions
- Yalobusha County, Miss., source of free labor cotton, 70
- Yearly meeting of Friends, as unit of organization, 31 n.
- Zollickoffer, Henry M., 14

Historical Papers of the
Trinity College Historical Society
Series XXVI

SUMMER MIGRATIONS AND RESORTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA LOW-COUNTRY PLANTERS

BY

LAWRENCE FAY BREWSTER

*Professor of History
East Carolina Teachers College*



DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1947

COPYRIGHT, 1947, BY DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE SEEMAN PRINTERY, INC., DURHAM, N. C.

PREFACE

The historical excursion into ante-bellum times undertaken in this study actually began at Pendleton in the South Carolina up country. There a number of low-country planter families once had summer residences. While teaching at Clemson College, four miles from Pendleton, I became interested in these families, their summer migrations, and their resorts. My interest led me to the low country itself and to the plantations, from which I followed the migrants, with the aid of their records, to seashore, pineland, sandhill, mountain, and spring, in their search for health and pleasure.

I have been primarily concerned with the low-country planters. A definition of the term as used in the pages that follow, is, therefore, in order at the outset. The South Carolina low country, which originally included only the coastal region, came after 1790 to extend to the fall line, which runs from the North Carolina boundary to the Savannah River and passes through the capital city of Columbia. The original "back country" was pushed back beyond this line; and the up country proper thereafter included the part of the state above the fall line. The country stretching from the edge of the coastal region to the fall line and partaking of the characteristics of both sections was often called the "middle country." For purposes of convenience, this subdivision has been retained. In another sense, the low country was a "way of life" or a state of mind, and any part of South Carolina in which that way of life or state of mind predominated was low country, regardless of its geographical location. Such a definition of the term takes into account the spread of the low-country system and influence in the up country; and it helps to explain the comparative political unity between the sections in South Carolina during this period. The planter class in South Carolina consisted not only of planters but also of professional men (lawyers, physicians, clergymen, educators, writers), and some businessmen (prominent merchants and bankers), many of whom became planters themselves or were allied with planter families. Hence, in this study, mention is made of planters who lived beyond the geographical limits of the low country proper, but who to all intents and purposes were low-country planters, and of low-country residents who were not planters, but who belonged to the planter class.

In respect to places of summer residence and travel, my purpose has been to give a more complete catalogue and account of the South Carolina resorts, many of which are less generally known, than of the more famous resorts to the northward, which are included and given due consideration in the circuit of travel. The former owed their existence as resorts to the low-country planters; the latter received the South Carolinians along with their other guests.

For all errors of commission and omission, I accept full responsibility. To the many persons who extended helping hands along the way I herewith express my sincere gratitude. Particular thanks are due to Miss Elizabeth Porcher and her assistants in the South Carolina Room of the University of South Carolina Library; to Miss Ellen FitzSimons, Librarian of the Charleston Library Society; to Mrs. Lyman Cotten, in charge of the Manuscripts Room, the University of North Carolina Library; and to Mrs. Gustave A. Nuermberger and Miss Nannie M. Tilley, Curators of Manuscripts, Duke University Library. I wish to acknowledge my special indebtedness to Professor A. G. Holmes of Clemson College for a better understanding of South Carolina and South Carolinians, past and present; to Professor R. L. Meriwether of the University of South Carolina for assistance in the use of the collections of South Caroliniana in the University Library; to Professor J. H. Easterby of the College of Charleston for making available to me material in the College Library and in the South Carolina Historical Society Collections; to Professor C. S. Sydnor of Duke University for his counsel and guidance in the preparation of the original dissertation; and to Professor W. T. Laprade and the staff of the Duke University Press for helping to bring the manuscript to publication.

L. F. B.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION: THE "SICKLY SEASON"	3
II. To "THE SALT"	10
III. To "THE PINE"	35
IV. DISCOVERING THE UP COUNTRY	53
V. HO! FOR THE SPRINGS!	74
VI. CONCLUSION: PHYSIC AND FASHION	109
INDEX	123

SUMMER MIGRATIONS AND RESORTS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA LOW-COUNTRY
PLANTERS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "SICKLY SEASON"

CAUSE AND EFFECT

Prior to about 1790 the South Carolina low-country planters did not always leave their plantations in the summer, especially those in the parishes along the Santee, the Cooper, and the Ashley rivers.¹ Frederick A. Porcher recalled that his grandfather remained on his Santee River plantation in St. Stephen's Parish and was visited every summer by relatives from Charleston.² According to Samuel DuBose, who wrote from personal knowledge, it was a common practice for some Charleston families to spend weeks with their friends on the river plantations in midsummer and for parties to come up from the city for a week of hunting or fishing without fear of injury to their health.³ These facts would seem to suggest that the natural unhealthfulness and endemic diseases of the plantations were not then generally alarming. As St. Julien Ravenel Childs has pointed out, "Even in the eighteenth century it cannot be taken for granted that Low Country malaria, virulent as it doubtless became, exercised a profound influence on society."⁴

In the years after 1790 the situation changed. The plantations became progressively more unhealthful in the summer, and the planters began regularly to migrate from them. The Duke de la Roche-

¹ David Doar, *A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee, South Carolina and an Address on the Traditions and Reminiscences of the Parish, Delivered Before the Society on the 4th of July, 1907* (Charleston, 1908), p. 16; Arthur Mazyck, comp., *Guide to Charleston Illustrated. Being a Sketch of the History of Charleston, S. C., with Some Account of its Present Condition . . .* (Charleston [1875]), p. 116.

² Frederick A. Porcher *Memoirs* (transcript, College of Charleston Library), chap. ii, pages not numbered. These memoirs are now being published in installments edited by Samuel Gaillard Stoney in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (Charleston, 1900—) beginning with Vol. XLIV, No. 2 (April, 1943).

³ "Reminiscences of St. Stephen's," in Samuel DuBose and Frederick A. Porcher, *Contributions to the History of the Huguenots of South Carolina* (New York, 1887), p. 80.

⁴ St. Julien Ravenel Childs, *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 264.

foucauld-Liancourt noted and recorded this custom as early as 1797.⁵ Theories were soon advanced to account for the change. A contemporary South Carolina historian, David Ramsay, who was also a planter and physician, attributed the change to the spread of rice planting.⁶ Writing of the low country, he declared:

In it sluggish rivers, stagnant swamps, ponds, and marshes are common; and in or near to them putrefaction is generated. In all these places, and for two or three miles adjacent to them, the seeds of febrile diseases are plentifully sown and from them are disseminated. . . .⁷

In his *Statistics of South Carolina* (1826), Robert Mills wrote that the change was due to the partial cultivation and subsequent abandonment of the low-country swamps.⁸ Mills stated that in the summer and fall months the lowland portions of South Carolina were unhealthful. To him, the causes of this unhealthfulness were apparent: "The numerous swamps . . . retain the waters that fall . . . ; and occasion thick fogs throughout the night. . . ." Those who were much exposed to these nocturnal fogs, Mills added, would be subject to intermittent fevers.

Planters and physicians in South Carolina came quite generally to believe that the atmosphere was the cause of the summer sickness of the plantations. One planter, Frederick Grimke Fraser, of BelleVue Plantation, Prince William's Parish, wrote in 1831 that "heat & moisture" were "the causes of disease," and he mentioned fevers resulting from "exposure to the Plantations."⁹ Doctor S. H.

⁵ François Alexandre Frédéric, duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America . . . in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797 . . .* (2 vols.; London, 1799), I, 558.

⁶ David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina from its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808* (2 vols.; Charleston, 1809; 2 vols. in 1; Newberry, S. C., 1858), II, 54. Childs (*Malaria and Colonization*, p. 264) says that malaria became virulent in the eighteenth century presumably as a result of "the opening of the African trade" and "the widespread cultivation of rice."

⁷ Ramsay, *History*, II, 56.

⁸ Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina, including A View of its Natural, Civil, and Military History* (Charleston, 1826), pp. 139-140. According to the visiting British geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, "the clearing away of the wood from large spaces is the chief alteration in the physical condition of this region in the . . . last sixty years, whereby the damp and swampy grounds undergo annually the process of being dried up by a burning sun" (Sir Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America in the Years 1841-1843* [2 vols.; New York, 1845], I, 142).

⁹ F. G. Fraser to Mrs. Mary Fraser, McPhersonville, Oct. 6, 1831, Mary DeSaussure Fraser Letters and Papers, 1781-1866 (Duke University Library).

Dickson, in an address read before the State Agricultural Society on November 28, 1843, said:

The beautiful and fertile low country of our State is the seat of annual and endemic visitations of disease, which we are accustomed to attribute to Malaria. Whatever may be the difference of opinion elsewhere as to the source of origin of the aerial poison, the Medical Profession here is unanimous in regarding it as the result of vegetable decomposition in moist places at a high temperature. . . .

In the low country there are few plantations which admit of permanent residence; the whole region being pervaded by a pestilential infection, almost unfailing in the excitement of Fevers, Intermittent and Remittent, during the Summer and Autumn. . . .¹⁰

The terminology employed varied; but the terms most frequently used to denote the cause were miasma and malaria. One writer described the consequences of the "subtle poison of the miasma" during the "malarious season."¹¹ The effect assigned to this cause was an intermittent or bilious fever known variously as country fever,¹² miasmatic fever, malarious or malarial fever, and finally simply as malaria—an excellent example of the transference of terms from supposed cause to effect.

Travelers in the South Carolina plantation country reported and confirmed the universal belief and obvious fact that it was unhealthy in summer. William Faux, an outspoken English farmer, wrote in 1823 that its "sickly and pestilential situation" as well as its richness was indicated by the "large, ropy lengths" of moss which he saw trailing from the trees there.¹³ Similarly impressed was a later British visitor, the Reverend George Lewis, who recorded:

The environs of Charleston are so unhealthy at these seasons, that the traveller who sleeps there but for one night a mile out of

¹⁰ S. H. Dickson, "Essay on Malaria" in [State Agricultural Society of South Carolina] *The Proceedings of the Agricultural Convention of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina from 1839 to 1845—Inclusive* (Columbia, S. C., 1846), p. 169. "The cultivation of rice . . . will always be found incompatible with the salubrity of the country engaged in it, for obvious reasons," declared Dickson; and he added that "improvident clearing, imperfect cultivation, and neglected drainage of land, have been the curse of our middle and lower districts" (*ibid.*, p. 171).

¹¹ Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1856), pp. 45-46.

¹² To distinguish it from the yellow fever or stranger's fever of the town.

¹³ William Faux, *Memorable Days in America* (London, 1823), p. 71.

town, is almost sure to be attacked by the country fever, which is said to be no less fatal than the yellow fever.¹⁴

The Georgetown *Winyah Observer* of August 2, 1848, reported the death of one who had spent several nights at Colonel Allston's plantation, Moultrie, and had been stricken with "the disease of the climate, which is so common to strangers."

The danger of fever was not confined to travelers and strangers. It was no less feared by, and fatal to, the planters themselves. Frederick Law Olmsted quoted one planter as saying that he would as soon stand fifty feet from the best Kentucky rifleman as to spend a night on his plantation in summer.¹⁵ Another told Olmsted of a man who put off too long following his brother's practice of leaving the plantation for another residence every night and fell a victim to the country fever. Olmsted also reported the fate of a party of six spending the day at a rice plantation. Unable to get back to town before night, they shut themselves in the house and sat around fires waiting for morning. But despite their precautions against the miasma, all were stricken with the fever and four died within a week.

Even planters who migrated with their families at the beginning of the "sickly season" and thereafter visited their plantations only occasionally by day, fell victims to the dreaded and deadly disease. Such was the fate of Isaac Ball, of Limerick, in the summer of 1825; of his brother John Ball, of Comingtee, in 1834; and of Isaac's son, John Ball, of Hyde Park in 1852.¹⁶ Henry Grimké, St. Paul's Parish planter, died of the country fever in 1852; and in 1855 it proved fatal to Charles Manly Cheves, who had returned too soon to his plantation on the Savannah River.¹⁷

CALENDAR

The warning signal for the annual migration of planters was the advent of summer. Ramsay wrote that the seeds of fever were

¹⁴ G[eorge] Lewis, *Impressions of America and the American Churches* (Edinburgh, 1845), p. 112.

¹⁵ Olmsted, *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁶ Anne Simons Deas, *Recollections of the Ball Family of South Carolina and the Comingtee Plantation* [Summerville, S. C., 1909], pp. 136, 137, 148.

¹⁷ John Belton O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (2 vols.; Charleston, 1859), II, 542; Susan Smythe Bennett, comp., "The Cheves Family of South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXXV (July-Oct., 1934), 94-95.

particularly prevalent in the period from June to November.¹⁸ According to Doctor John Shecut, who wrote in 1819, "the summer, or as they are generally termed the sickly seasons . . . may be comprehended by the four months commencing with the 21st of June, the whole of July, August and September, and terminating with the 21st of October."¹⁹ The exact time for migrating tended to vary with the locality and the individual, as well as with the year.

In 1820 Adam Hodgson, English gentleman and traveler, reported that the planter families left their plantations "about the beginning of June."²⁰ The services of the Church in St. James's, Santee, and St. John's, Colleton, were suspended in June, because of the general removal of the inhabitants from these parishes for the summer.²¹ Some planters of St. John's, Berkeley, did not remove their families until the end of May or the first of June. For example, in 1810 it was the last of May when John Ball, Sr., migrated to town with his family.²² John Ball, Jr., wrote in 1830 that his family expected to remain at Comingtee Plantation on the Cooper River until June.²³ A visitor to the low country noted in 1836: "Formerly, the winter campaign used to be prolonged until the middle of June; but of late years the time has been . . . gradually abridged by common consent, until now the 15th of April is considered the last day of security."²⁴

In general, however, the month of May came to be fixed upon as the time for leaving the plantation. For many planters the date of departure was early in that month. On April 12, 1850, Fredrika Bremer wrote that she must lose no time in accepting an invitation to visit Joel R. Poinsett's plantation, Casa Blanca, on the Pee Dee River, because the planters all left their plantations "early in May"

¹⁸ Ramsay, *History*, II, 56. Childs (*Malaria and Colonization*, p. 33) states that it may be assumed that transmission of malaria was always impossible except during those five months.

¹⁹ John L. E. W. Shecut, *Medical and Philosophical Essays* (Charleston, 1819), p. 58.

²⁰ Adam Hodgson, *Remarks During a Journey Through North America in the Years 1819, 1820 and 1821 in a Series of Letters* (New York, 1823), p. 121.

²¹ Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1820), pp. 302, 365.

²² John Ball to Thomas Slater, Kensington, Nov. 8, 1810, copy in John Ball Letters and Papers, 1773-1823 (Duke University Library).

²³ John Ball to E. O. Ball, May 10, 1830, John Ball Papers.

²⁴ Tyrone Power, *Impressions of America, during the Years 1833, 1834, 1835* (2 vols.; London, 1836), II, 94-95.

to avoid the great heat and dangerous fevers.²⁵ The rice planters of All Saints, Waccamaw, were reported to have migrated early in May.²⁶ John B. Grimball moved his family from his plantation, Slann's Island in St. Paul's Parish, on May 5 in 1837 and 1838.²⁷ In the 1850's the family of Joseph W. Barnwell left their Port Royal Island plantation on May 10.²⁸ On the plantations of St. John's, Berkeley, and St. Stephen's, the tenth of May, it is said, came to be considered the last day of safety and consequently the latest date of departure for many planters.²⁹ But, as late as 1839, Louis Augustin Taveau was still at his plantation, Clermont, on the Cooper River, on May 16.³⁰ Some planters stayed on after the fifteenth, but by the end of the month few families could be found on the plantations. Thereafter, they were left to the overseers and the Negroes, the planters visiting them only by day.

The signal for the return of the planter families to the plantations was the first hard or killing frost, which marked the end of the "sickly season." Although the first hard frost might come in October, most planters preferred the more certain purging of November's frosts.³¹ Indeed, the frosts of the later month were quite as important to the migrators as were the flowers of May. Hugh Swinton Ball wrote from New York on March 30, 1830, to his half brother John that he and his wife expected to be at their plantation, Pimlico, "next autumn as soon as the frost has done its duty."³²

²⁵ Fredrika Bremer, *Homes of the New World* (2 vols.; New York, 1853), I, 283. It was not until the last week in May, however, that the family of R. F. W. Allston, of nearby Chicora Wood, and their neighbors were accustomed to migrate from their plantations (Elizabeth Waties Allston Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood* [New York, 1922], pp. 67 ff.).

²⁶ Anon., "Recollections of a Visit to the Waccamaw," *Living Age* (Boston, 1844—), LIV (Aug. 1, 1857), 292.

²⁷ J. B. Grimball Diary, 1832-1884 (17 vols.; transcript, College of Charleston Library), VI, 1.

²⁸ The Life and Recollections of Joseph W. Barnwell (transcript, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston), p. 27.

²⁹ Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* (Charleston, 1938), p. 35; Robert Wilson, *Half Forgotten By-Ways of the Old South* (Columbia, 1928), p. 124.

³⁰ L. A. Taveau to A. L. Taveau, Clermont, May 16, 1839, Augustin Louis Taveau Papers, 1741-1931 (Duke University Library).

³¹ David Doar wrote: "I heard one planter say that he would rather move to the plantation early in November without a frost than in October after a heavy frost because in the first instance, he said, vegetation died gradually and surely but in October it was killed suddenly and made sickness" (*Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country* [Charleston, 1936], p. 37).

³² Ball Papers.

Nevertheless, here again, there were individual and local differences of opinion. According to Shecut, the "sickly season" ended on the twenty-first of October.³³ Hodgson reported that the planter families stayed away from the plantations until "the first frost, which is looked for with great anxiety towards October."³⁴ In 1832 the Grimballs were anxious to return on November 12; but they hesitated, as there was "still some doubt as to the healthiness of the country. There has been severe frost—but people differ as to there having been ice."³⁵ Two years later they moved into the country on the eighteenth of November.³⁶ "As usual at this time of the year," wrote Mrs. Elizabeth Heyward Manigault from Charleston on November 9, 1843, "everybody is preparing for the country."³⁷ She added that her father, Nathaniel Heyward, Combahee River planter, had left that day; and that her brother Charles was to set out the next day. In 1848 there were killing frosts in St. John's, Berkeley, on November 2 and 3, and the next year on November 10 and 11; but there had been no frost by November 12 in 1852.³⁸ The Ravenels returned to Pooshee in St. John's on November 1 in 1859.³⁹ Joseph W. Barnwell recalled that his family came back to their Port Royal Island plantation at the end of October in the years after 1852.⁴⁰

Whatever the particular dates of departure and return might be, they marked an event in the lives of the planters. The "sickly season," at least five months in duration, was significant in the plantation year. It precipitated an annual migration that carried planter families and planter society far afield in search of more salubrious and congenial residences or resorts.

³³ Shecut, *Medical and Philosophical Essays*, p. 58.

³⁴ Hodgson, *Remarks During a Journey*, p. 121.

³⁵ Grimball Diary, I, 153.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 153.

³⁷ E. H. Manigault to C. H. Manigault, Nov. 9, 1843, Louis Manigault Papers, 1800-1883 (Duke University Library).

³⁸ From the plantation diary of Thomas P. Ravenel of Woodboo Plantation, 1847-1850, quoted in U. B. Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier Documents: 1649-1863* (2 vols.; Cleveland, 1909), I, 195-203; Mrs. K. L. Simons to A. L. Taveau, Nov. 12, 1852, Taveau Papers.

³⁹ Henry W. Ravenel Private Journal, 1859-1860 (University of South Carolina Library).

⁴⁰ The Life and Recollections of Joseph W. Barnwell, p. 27.

CHAPTER II

TO "THE SALT"

TOWN HOUSES

Just as the time of migration varied locally, and with the individual, so did the place of retreat. In the first place, the planter families might go to "the salt," that is, to the coastal towns and the sea-island beaches. There, as the people of those days, with their limited knowledge of the cause of malaria, observed, wind and wave kept the "country fever" at bay and relieved, to some extent, the sultry summer atmosphere.¹ Actually, salt water and strong, fresh breezes proved inimical to the breeding and progress of the malaria parasite and its winged carrier, the *Anopheles* mosquito. Moreover, the towns, as a result of stabilization, followed by a normal increase in the density of their populations and of sanitary improvements brought about by the development of community life, tended to become less favorable environments for malaria.² The coastal towns resorted to by the planters were Charleston, Beaufort, and Georgetown in South Carolina, and Newport in Rhode Island.

Charleston, metropolis and focal point of the low country, was at first the principal resort of the planter families during the "sickly season."³ With the passing of the years the capital of the plantation country had become less malarious than its hinterland.⁴ In Charles-

¹ Mills, *Statistics*, pp. 372, 378, 561; William Gilmore Simms, *Geography of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1843), p. 45. As one writer put it, there was "a magic circle at Charleston, which the malaria seldom invades, though he presses closely upon it" ("G. M.," "South Carolina, No. II," *New England Magazine* [9 vols.; Boston, 1831-1835], I [1831], 340).

² Childs, *Malaria and Colonization*, p. 18.

³ La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels*, I, 578-579; Hodgson, *Remarks*, p. 121; Porcher *Memoirs*, chap. ii; Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, "Formative Influences," *Forum* (103 vols.; New York, 1886-1940), X (Dec., 1890), 607; Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, the Place and the People* (New York, 1907), pp. 384-386; Alice R. Huger Smith, *A Carolina Rice Plantation of the Fifties* (New York, 1936), p. 35; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), p. 52.

⁴ "In later times, when Charles Town was more closely built and the established population of the Low Country exceeded the number of newcomers and transients, malaria was never as prevalent in the town as in the country and a special concentration of morbidity or mortality in the port indicated the presence of some freshly imported infection, generally yellow fever or small-pox" (Childs, *Malaria and Colonization*, pp. 225-226).

ton the wealthier and more influential planters—the aristocracy who ruled that city-state—had their town houses. These were substantial, well-planned dwellings, with wide piazzas and walled gardens; and upon them the planters sometimes lavished more attention than they did on their plantation homes, since the town houses came to be much more than mere summer residences.⁵ Planters who did not have town houses rented places for the summer or visited relatives and friends.

Even though in many cases some members of the family were frequently or permanently in town, the occupation of a town house for the summer season was no simple maneuver. Such an undertaking often involved the removal, bag and baggage, of an entire plantation household, consisting of the planter's own large family, varying numbers of relatives and friends, and a retinue of house servants. The urban establishment was supplied from the country. Food and fuel were brought in regularly from the plantation; and, on occasion, building materials and laborers were added. The transportation of persons and the hauling of supplies were accomplished largely by boat. Most of the low-country plantations were on or near navigable streams and had their own boats. Roads were few and poor; but, where they existed, they might also be used by the horses and carriages of the planters; and later the "iron horse" provided still another means of conveyance.

Many of the prominent planters migrated to Charleston at the beginning of the "sickly season" and occupied their town houses during all or a part of the summer. For some, the Charleston residence was a retreat in itself; for others, it was but a point of departure for, and return from, their excursions to other resorts. The René Ravenels of Pooshee, St. John's, Berkeley, spent the summer in town from 1785 to 1793.⁶ During the latter part of his life, Thomas Heyward, Jr. (1746-1809), of White Hall, St. Luke's, occupied his house at 87 Church Street as a temporary retreat from his plantations.⁷ Henry Izard (1771-1826), son of Ralph Izard of The

⁵ Duncan Clinch Heyward, *Seed from Madagascar* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), pp. 68-69; Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, pp. 34-35.

⁶ Henry Edmund Ravenel, *Ravenel Records* (Atlanta, 1898), pp. 225 ff.

⁷ A. S. Salley, "Delegates to the Continental Congress from South Carolina, 1774-1789, with Sketches of the Four Who Signed the Declaration of Independence," *Historical Commission of South Carolina Bulletin* (Columbia, 1915—), No. 9 (1927), p. 24.

Elms, St. James's, Goose Creek, and Ralph Stead Izard (1783-1816), of Schieveling, St. Andrew's, son of Ralph Izard of Fair Spring, St. George's, Dorchester, occupied their town houses when in Charleston during the summer, as their fathers had done before them.⁸ General Thomas Pinckney (1750-1828), of Fairfield, St. James's, Santee, had his "mansion house" in George Street and a house on East Bay.⁹ The town house of John Ball (1760-1817), of Kensington, St. John's, Berkeley, at 168 East Bay frequently served as his summer headquarters.¹⁰ His son, John Ball (1782-1834), of Comingtee, came to town in the summer and occupied his house at 31 Hasell Street.¹¹ The Isaac Balls of Limerick spent the summer in Charleston, a practice which Mrs. Ball continued after her husband's death.¹²

Nathaniel Heyward, Combahee River planter, came to his fine house at the corner of East Bay and Society streets, from the porch of which he had an excellent view of the harbor.¹³ When he died in 1851, this house became the residence of his son, Charles Heyward (1802-1865), of Rose Hill, St. Bartholomew's. As early as 1826 Charles Heyward had begun to spend the summer in that part of Charleston called Wraggsboro.¹⁴ Another son of Nathaniel Heyward, Arthur Heyward, of The Bluff Plantation, brought his family to town in the summer of 1836 and established them in his house on Charlotte Street on the Charleston Neck.¹⁵ Beginning in 1832, John B. Grimbail, of St. Paul's, spent some summers, in whole or in part, at his town house on South Bay, and later on Meeting Street.¹⁶ Keating Simons of Lewisfield, St. John's, Berkeley, died at his town house on Orange Street on September 18, 1834.¹⁷ His successors and descendants continued to make the Orange Street

⁸ Langdon Cheves, "Izard of South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II (July, 1901), 218, 236, 238. Hereinafter cited as *SCHGM*.

⁹ Charleston County, Court of Probate, Will Book G, p. 321.

¹⁰ See letters to and from John Ball, Sr., summers 1810-1817, in Ball Papers.

¹¹ See letters to and from John Ball, Jr., summers 1818-1830, *ibid*.

¹² Deas, *Recollections of the Ball Family*, p. 137.

¹³ Heyward, *Seed from Madagascar*, p. 69.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100; Charles Heyward Diary, 1826-1836 (photostat, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C.).

¹⁵ Charles Heyward to Elizabeth Heyward Manigault, Charleston, June 3, 1836, Manigault Papers.

¹⁶ Grimbail Diary.

¹⁷ A. S. Salley, copyist, "Some Early Simons Records," *SCHGM*, XXXVII (Oct., 1926), 147.

house and other houses their summer headquarters.¹⁸ L. A. Taveau, of Clermont, St. John's, came into town in summer and stayed there part of the time.¹⁹ The town house of Henry Augustus Middleton (1793-1887), of St. James's, Goose Creek, was at 68 South Bay.²⁰ The Nathaniel Russell Middletons rented a town house when they were in Charleston for the summer.²¹ Isaac Jenkins Mikell (1808-1881), Edisto Island planter, had a town house in Charleston.²² The family of William Gilmore Simms came to Charleston and occupied their town house when they had to leave their plantation, Woodlands, in Barnwell District.²³

Once in town, the planter families took up urban life with easy adjustment. The obvious advantages of the metropolis—economic, cultural, and social—were sought for and enjoyed. Shops, business houses, banks, schools, churches, clubs, and hotels were patronized or visited. Society continued from where it had left off on the plantation or in town the previous season. There was the customary and characteristic visiting back and forth before and after siesta time. The principal form of entertainment was the piazza party, to which were added such formal gatherings as the summer season permitted. Included among the latter were dinner parties, soirees, musicales, and balls.

Out of doors, much of the social life of Charleston centered on "The Battery." Here were the White Point Gardens, where there was bathing during the day and music at night. On May 1, 1845, the proprietors of the Salt Water Bathing House, located off the Gardens, announced the opening of their establishment with its new building containing additional private baths and a pool for the women, and its ice cream and pastry saloon served by a New York

¹⁸ Mrs. K. L. Simons to A. L. Taveau, Charleston, Nov. 12, 1852, Taveau Papers; Sedgwick Simons to *idem*, Charleston, Oct. 18, 1853, *ibid*.

¹⁹ L. A. Taveau to A. L. Taveau, May 16, 1839, *ibid*.

²⁰ Langdon Cheves, "Middletons of South Carolina," *SCHGM*, I (July, 1900), 258; Works Projects Administration, Writers' Program, *South Carolina, A Guide to the Palmetto State* (New York, 1941), p. 200. Hereinafter cited as *S. C. Guide*.

²¹ Alicia Hopton Middleton, *Life in Carolina and New England During the Nineteenth Century, as Illustrated by Reminiscences and Letters of the Middleton Family of Charleston, South Carolina, and of the DeWolf Family of Bristol, Rhode Island* (Bristol, R. I., 1929), p. 63.

²² David Duncan Wallace, *History of South Carolina* (4 vols.; New York, 1934), IV, 881.

²³ William P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston, 1892), p. 155.

caterer.²⁴ That very evening a concert of national and operatic airs played by the German Band, consisting of both brass and woodwind instruments, was to be given there. Committees were to receive contributions in order to have the band play two nights a week during the summer. The band's two-and-a-half-hour concert was moved up from eight o'clock to six o'clock on June 6 to make way for a return engagement of the Hughes Family's performance of harp, violin, and vocal music, accompanied by Professor Strong at the pianoforte.²⁵ While the band concerts were free to the public, the price of admission on this occasion was fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children. In 1852 the summer concerts at the Bathing House Saloon included a grand vocal and instrumental concert on the night of July 19 given by the Derworts, directed by Professor G. H. Derwort and featuring Miss Derwort, vocalist, violinist, pianist.²⁶ On the Battery there were also promenades and drives in the cool of the evening; and beyond was the harbor with its fine views and sailing at all times.

Beaufort, like Charleston, was a summer resort for neighboring planters, who resided there in order to enjoy its salubrious climate. "The town of Beaufort," wrote Mills in 1826, "has always been remarkable for the health and longevity of its inhabitants."²⁷ He reported that "a delightful breeze comes in during the day from the ocean, and the perpetual rising and falling of the tides keeps up a continual agitation of the air." This free circulation of the air is said to have been a possible reason for the fact that the town was always considered healthful.²⁸ Beaufort was comparatively free of the "country fever"; and it was conveniently and attractively located. All these attributes contrived to make it a pleasant and popular, as well as a safe, summer retreat.

Not possessing the commercial and political activity of the metropolis, Beaufort, which in those days was not even a seat of justice, was chiefly important as a planters' resort.²⁹ In the summer its population numbered some two thousand persons, more than twice as many as in the winter. The planters who resided in Beaufort in

²⁴ *Charleston Daily Courier*, May 1, 1845.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, June 5 and 6, 1845.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, July 19, 1852.

²⁷ Mills, *Statistics*, p. 378.

²⁸ James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller, D.D.* (New York, 1879),

p. 15.

²⁹ Guion Griffis Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1930), p. 111.

the summer are said to have vied with one another in building their town houses—"imposing mansions," ornately decorated and handsomely furnished. The result, according to a visitor in the 1840's, was "a picturesque town composed of an assemblage of villas," each of which was "shaded by a verandah, surrounded by beautiful live oaks and orange trees laden with fruit."³⁰

In one of these villas, a tabby mansion on a bluff overlooking the river on the south front of the town, the Thomas Fullers of Sheldon spent their summers in the years after 1786.³¹ Other prominent planter families having town houses in Beaufort were the Bulls, Barnwells, Chisolms, Cuthberts, Elliotts, Hamiltons, Rhettts, Verdiers, and Woodward.³² From 1796 to 1812 Stephen Elliott (1771-1830), Beaufort District and Georgia planter, made Beaufort Town his summer retreat.³³ The Reverend William Hazzard Wigg Barnwell and his family, whose plantation was on the north side of Broad River, on Port Royal Island, occupied their town house from May to November in the 1850's.³⁴ From St. Helena Island came the Chaplin, Coffin, Fripp, Jenkins, and Sams families, who had town houses in Beaufort in addition to their St. Helenaville beach residences.³⁵

Summer activities at Beaufort, as at Charleston, developed along the water front. There the people gathered in the evening "when the tide was up, and the heat of the day was tempered by the fresh sea-breeze."³⁶ Some ventured out in the many pleasure boats that glided over the waters of the river; other preferred to watch them while driving or walking along the main street, which was crowded with carriages and promenaders.

Georgetown was more of a commercial town, but less of a resort, than Beaufort. The place was not healthful in summer, and most planters of the District, even those who had houses there, usually passed it by for the sea-island beaches.³⁷

³⁰ Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States* (2 vols.; London and New York, 1849), I, 231.

³¹ Cuthbert, *Fuller*, p. 17.

³² *S. C. Guide*, pp. 171-176.

³³ Helen Kohn Hennig, *Great South Carolinians from Colonial Days to the Confederate War* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1940), p. 217.

³⁴ A. S. Salley, "Joseph W. Barnwell, A Sketch," *SCHGM*, XXXI (Oct., 1930), 324.

³⁵ *S. C. Guide*, pp. 171-176; Johnson, *Sea Islands*, p. 110.

³⁶ Cuthbert, *Fuller*, p. 16.

³⁷ William W. Wightman, *Life of William Capers, D.D. . . . Including an Autobiography* (Nashville, 1858), pp. 29, 34-35; Thomas P. Lockwood, *A Geography of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1832), pp. 33-34.

SEA-ISLAND RESORTS

Although Charleston was practically free from the malaria that plagued the planters in the country, it was not an altogether safe and pleasant summer retreat. The climate was hot, and the atmosphere was heavy with all the disagreeable sounds and smells of a city of that day. Then, too, Charleston was subject to frequent epidemics of yellow fever, a disease which was often as fatal to the low-countryman who had lost, or not yet attained, immunity to it as it was to the stranger. But the city had a place of refuge from these pestilences in near-by Sullivan's Island, to which strangers and natives alike might flee for the day or the season. Thus, William Faux wrote that on June 14, 1819, he left the Planters Hotel in Charleston, "where funerals begin to be frequent," and went to Sullivan's Island, "a sure refuge from pestilential heat and poisonous mosquitoes, in the hot, sandy, stinking city of Charleston, where the elements, earth, air, and water, swarm with all that is noxious."³⁸ Writing from Sullivan's Island on August 31, 1827, James Louis Petigru reported:

Charleston is really very sickly and I am glad that we were not there when the sickness commenced. It is not on account of the yellow fever only that it is to be shunned, but there is a prevalence of disease. I was in town on Monday; saw Dr. North, who seemed to be as much worsted by fatigue as I ever saw him; he told me that he had paid the day before forty-two visits.³⁹

More than a quarter of a century later, the family of N. R. Middleton found Sullivan's Island a handy retreat from the sudden appearance of yellow fever.

Early in '54 we took possession of the old house on South Battery, remaining there instead of going to Rhode Island for the summer, the delightful situation with the salt breezes straight from the ocean seeming to make a move unnecessary. But about the 21st of August, the dreaded epidemic of yellow fever . . . suddenly appeared in Charleston, and my father came home that morning with word from our kind Doctor that the family must leave the city that afternoon. The only refuge possible at such short notice was Sullivan's Island. . . .⁴⁰

³⁸ Faux, *Memorable Days in America*, pp. 82, 90.

³⁹ Petigru to his sister, Jane Petigru North, Aug. 31, 1827, in James Petigru Carson, *Life, Letters, and Speeches of James Louis Petigru* (Washington, 1920), pp. 75-76.

⁴⁰ Middleton, *Life in Carolina and New England*, p. 82.

Sullivan's Island was a summer resort of long standing. It was settled largely by Charlestonians, taking advantage of its proximity and salubrity and of a legislative resolution of 1791 that permitted any citizen of South Carolina who thought it "beneficial to health" to spend the summer on the island, to build on an assigned lot, for which he might be required to pay a quitrent of a penny a year.⁴¹ By 1800 streets had been laid out, the pest house removed, and Sunday gambling forbidden.⁴² In 1817 the settlement on the tip of the island, opposite Charleston, was incorporated as Moultrieville.⁴³ This grant, according to the Act, had been petitioned for by the inhabitants, who declared that

from the unusual prevalence . . . of the yellow fever during the past summer and autumn in Charleston, not only to strangers but to native inhabitants, particularly to the younger class, that island hath been, and probably hereafter must be, greatly resorted to as an asylum; and from the density of the population and its peculiar situation, . . . requires a police . . . ; and . . . some provision . . . for the establishment of one or more schools.

The town corporate was to be constituted of all United States citizens who owned or acquired a dwelling on the island or occupied one under lease "during the season that people resort thither for health or safety." The first elections were to be held in the former lazaretto (pest house), which was used as an Episcopal Church.⁴⁴ An act of 1819, amending the charter, imposed patrol duty on all capable inhabitants, "including as well the owners of houses who reside there, or whose families reside there, as also those who hire houses, or keep lodging houses . . . , and all persons lodging . . . therein."⁴⁵ This act also stated that lots could be appropriated only by actually erecting a dwelling and not a mere shed or enclosure; and that the owners of dwellings removed or destroyed must exercise their right to rebuild within one year thereafter.

⁴¹ Katherine Drayton Simons, *Stories of Charleston Harbor* (Columbia, 1930), p. 13; Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (10 and 2 vols.; Columbia, 1836-1841), VI, 131. Hereinafter cited as *S. C. Statutes*.

⁴² *S. C. Statutes*, V, 350.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 290.

⁴⁴ This large brick building had been purchased by subscription in 1816, converted into a neat place of public worship, and consecrated as Grace Church by Bishop Bowen on June 10, 1819 (Dalcho, *Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 396).

⁴⁵ *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 129-131.

The settlement was thus described by Mills in 1826:

Moultrieville has a handsome appearance, particularly on entering the harbor; the greater part of the houses (for more than a mile) front the beach, which extends the whole length of the island, a distance of three miles. This beach at low water is very firm and wide; affords a delightful walk or ride, where the delighted visitant may inhale the pure and bracing sea-breeze, which wafts health and vigor to the system.⁴⁶

Moultrieville then had some two hundred wooden houses, "occupied sometimes to excess during the summer," two churches, the second of which was a Presbyterian congregation organized in 1824, a market place, and "several excellent hotels." The houses, according to Faux, were built on wooden piles so that the high winter tides could flow under them.⁴⁷ Later there was a Town Hall for the deliberations of the intendant and wardens or for other meetings.⁴⁸ In summer the population was a thousand or more, depending on the state of health in Charleston, an hour's sail away.⁴⁹

Sullivan's Island was the resort of many prominent Charlestonians, including planters, who had their own houses there or availed themselves of the island's steadily growing number of public and private accommodations. Such well-known families as the Pinckneys, the Hugers, the Middletons, the Morrisises, the Balls, the Simonses, the Prioleaus, the Ravenels, the Bakers, the I'ons, the Petigrus, the DeSaussures, the Blandings, and the Adgers were summer residents. Life on the island had its burdens and its attractions. Young Thomas Pinckney, Jr. (1780-1842), son of General Thomas Pinckney, grew weary of what he called "the insipid follies of this system of vegetation," which consisted of little else but eating, drinking, and sleeping; but he found some relief from the monotony in the "delightful rides by moonlight," enlivened by "an elegant adventure . . . with a certain young lady," and the series of "Maroons," attended by specially invited guests, mostly beaux and belles.⁵⁰

Reflecting on the scene at Sullivan's Island, William Crafts, of Charleston, was prompted to write:

The little city of Moultrieville, the *Sybarus* of the South, rapidly

⁴⁶ Mills, *Statistics*, pp. 425-426.

⁴⁷ Faux, *Memorable Days in America*, p. 83.

⁴⁸ Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 27.

⁴⁹ Simms, *Geography*, p. 46.

⁵⁰ Thomas Pinckney, Jr., to Harriott Pinckney, Moultrieville, Sept. 21 and Oct. 2, 1801, in *SCHGM*, XLI (July, 1940), 99-101.

renews its luxurious population, and is the general resort of the indolent, and refuge of the invalid. . . .

An hour's idleness may obtain you a curlew, and having blistered your fingers, you may catch a sheephead. The Island air rusts metals, destroys shoel leather, and inspires verse-making. It is not the ocean air, nor the land air, but a mixture of both, and not so good as either. It is of doubtful benefit to the lungs, but has a good effect on the appetite, and is an excellent specific against the yellow fever.⁵¹

Faux, who visited Sullivan's Island in June, 1819, stayed a day and a night at one of the "summer mansions," which "variegated" the scenery. His host, a Mr. Gregory, sent his "elegant chariot" attended by two Negroes to meet him at the Landing and entertained him "with an agreeable dinner in the English style." Faux found the island, which was some eight miles around, to be healthy, cool, and pleasant. He described it as "an island of White Land, where not a blade of grass is seen; only hedges of *bagonet* plants and myrtles."⁵² Early ordinances of Moultrieville protected the trees from useless destruction by prohibiting unauthorized cutting of them.⁵³ As late as 1852 clumps of palmettos might still be seen in Sullivan's Island gardens.⁵⁴ The area beyond Moultrieville was a series of rising sand dunes covered with low woods and bushes.

Mrs. Caroline Howard Gilman, wife of Charleston's Unitarian pastor, whose residence "stood alone, on a sandy eminence, with the broad beach in the front distance, and wild myrtles scantily rising as a dwarf shrubbery behind," recalled that there was little to relieve the extreme loneliness of the northeastern part of the island.⁵⁵ Frederick A. Porcher, of St. John's, Berkeley, who spent part of the summer at the house of his friend, John Wilkes, of Charleston, which was similarly situated, declared:

This portion of the Island had been well peopled, but after the storm of 1822 people were afraid and its proximity to the Myrtles also made them afraid of fever—it was now almost abandoned; the only houses in the neighborhood being those of Judge Huger and

⁵¹ *A Selection in Prose and Poetry from the Miscellaneous Writings of the Late William Crafts* (Charleston, 1828), pp. 297-299.

⁵² Faux, *Memorable Days in America*, pp. 79, 82-83, 90.

⁵³ Simons, *Stories of Charleston Harbor*, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, I, 273.

⁵⁵ Caroline Howard Gilman, *Recollections of a Southern Matron* (New York, 1838), p. 160.

Colonel P'on on one side, and the elegant mansion of General Pinckney on the other.⁵⁶

They felt quite isolated from the rest of the island, to reach which they had to travel the heavy sand road along the front beach or the hilly, mosquito-infested back beach road. Since Wilkes went into the city every day, the horses and carriage were not always available. The result, for Porcher, was "a dull and lazy kind of life." He observed that "a dreamy kind of existence" was "the true charm of seaside life." Life on the island, however, was not all charm. Porcher and his friends suffered from the disagreeable heat and the oppressive stillness whenever the deliciously cool and strong breeze died away. They experienced difficulty in supplementing with poultry and fish the market that was irregularly supplied by boat from the city. In fact, Porcher complained that everything was done at the convenience of the boat; and he added that he had never seen "so large a community so content with the chance occasions of comfort and convenience which the steamboats offered."

To others these ferry boats were a subject of considerable interest. The DeSaussure family of Charleston found them very handy in going to and from the island in the summer.⁵⁷ Doctor John B. Irving, of St. John's, Berkeley, thought them an important part of the local scene:

At almost every hour of the day, may be seen one or the other of these Boats ploughing the Stream, whose placid bosom, not long since was only ruffled by the intermittent oar of some isolated Ferryman . . . a striking contrast to the noise of the ceaseless paddles of those floating bridges that now make a highway for hundreds of daily voyagers.⁵⁸

The ten-cent fare, he declared, was an irresistible temptation for "all sorts and conditions of our people" to seek a frequent change of air. Among them were the

City Belles and Beaux, who having . . . made up parties, for an afternoon or moonlight ride upon the beach . . . , ship their horses in Charleston, and after reaching the Cove . . . take a delightful

⁵⁶ Memoirs, chap. x. Judge Huger was Daniel E. Huger, of Charleston; Colonel P'on was Jacob Bond P'on, of Christ Church Parish.

⁵⁷ W. G. DeSaussure to his sister Frances, Charleston, July 15, 1846, Henry William DeSaussure Papers, 1812-1916 (Duke University Library).

⁵⁸ John B. Irving, *Local Events and Incidents at Home* (Charleston, 1850), p. 1.

canter for a couple of hours, reaching . . . the extremity of the Island, and . . . get back to the City at the hour they would return from a ride on the Battery . . . having escaped the dust and crowd . . . breathed a purer air and benefited by a more invigorating exercise.⁵⁹

The arrival and departure of these boats added to the "hum of business and pleasure" at the Cove and furnished an incentive for an afternoon stroll or drive from the more remote parts of the island. Mrs. Gilman thus describes the "motley group" whose arrival she observed:

There were reclining invalids, with their eyes shooting a sudden brilliancy, as the sea breeze swept over their languid brows; sickly infants, seizing the first relished morsel; the happy and healthy, who would fain add another tinge to the blooming cheek. There were the mechanic, generously recreating his industrious family, the professional man escaping from the stifling courtroom, the chamber of disease, or the secluded study, to feel the Atlantic breeze, untainted by human breathing, and gaze on the clear heavens and unfettered sea.⁶⁰

To these we must add those whom Mrs. Gilman declared she would not enter in her innocent catalogue—"the sensualist and the gambler," whose motives and recreations were little affected by wind or wave.

The goal of many of these new arrivals would be one of the hotels—Jackson's, The Planter's, The Point House, in earlier days; and, in later years, The Moultrie House, the island's crowning glory. Built and furnished at a cost of \$32,000 by a stock company chartered in 1850, this "elegant" and "storm-proof" edifice had accommodations for 200 persons.⁶¹ It was located directly upon the beach and with a fine view of Charleston Harbor and the open sea from its attic observatory and its pillared front piazza, which was 284 feet long and 16 feet wide and formed, with the similar but slightly narrower back piazza, a continuous promenade around the whole building. Within was the spacious ballroom, 110 feet by 25 feet, formed by throwing open the folding doors of a suite of apartments, to which could be added the 90 by 28 foot dining room.

The Moultrie House opened its doors on July 8, 1850, with

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Gilman, *Recollections*, p. 162.

⁶¹ Irving, *Local Events*, pp. 14 ff.; *S. C. Statutes*, XII, 23-24.

James M. Hurst as host.⁶² Two weeks later, a correspondent of the *Camden Journal* wrote:

This delightful retreat is crowded with visitors from all parts of the State, and the . . . hotel recently erected, is fast filling up with the hundreds who are flocking down in pursuit of health. . . . The polite and attentive gentleman in charge . . . is extending his arrangements so as to accommodate as many as possible, and we understand that the broad flat roof of the House, is to be . . . converted into a huge dormitory.⁶³

Thomas S. Nickerson, who leased the hotel in 1853, announced that his table would be supplied with every delicacy the markets of New York, Havana, Key West, and Charleston could furnish, and his bar with none but the choicest liquors.⁶⁴ He declared that there would be no deficiency of amusements, listing in this category four billiard tables and three bowling saloons together with horses and carriages for riding and driving on the beach and boats for fishing parties. "Mr. Nickerson . . . gives entire satisfaction as mine host," wrote the correspondent of the *Lancaster Ledger*; and the *Charleston Mercury* declared that the secret of the "urbane and accomplished" Nickerson's success was that he "never seems happier than when he is making others happy."⁶⁵ The occasion of the latter compliment was the announcement of "another of those delightful reunions" at the Moultrie House:

A dance upon the very margin of the Atlantic, the murmur of whose waves forms the deep diapason to the brilliant music of the Concordians, to whose enspiriting sounds bright eyes and forms of grace move responsively, seems more like a scene of fairyland . . . and when to this is added the delicious petit souper, . . . we need not wonder at their attractiveness and popularity.

Sullivan's Island might suddenly be changed from a fairyland into an inferno, as it was on September 2, 1854, when the island was subjected to another of the coast's great storms. Alicia Middleton, a guest at the hotel, described the "appalling" scene:

The homes all over the island went down like card-houses; ere long the Moultrie House was the only building in sight left standing.

⁶² See advertisement in the *Camden (S. C.) Journal*, July 2, 1850.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1850.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1853.

⁶⁵ *Lancaster (S. C.) Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1853; *Charleston Mercury*, Aug. 18, 1853.

It was built on palmetto piles several feet above the ground, the space between being open and through this space great waves rolled and the timbers and *debris* of the fallen houses with their furniture . . . dashed against the foundation. There was one other spot of greater safety, the Fort, with its fortified walls of heavy masonry. Here, one after the other, the guests from the hotel were taken. . . .⁶⁶

The Moultrie House and some cottages on the western side of the island near the city weathered the storm; but the hotel was not reopened that season. In the years that followed, up to the outbreak of the Civil War, with improved facilities and under the capable management of Daniel Mixer, it continued to dispense its former hospitality to an increasing clientele. Its guests no longer had to drive through the heavy sand but were now conveyed from the Cove to the hotel in rail cars over the road constructed by the "Moultrieville Rail or Plank Road Company."⁶⁷

The activities of a typical guest spending a day and night on the island were described by a correspondent of the *Charleston Courier* in 1858. His first thought, as he stepped "safely forth on the broad piazza of the 'Moultrie House,' " was of the ocean bathing:

There is not much space to the hour of dinner, but . . . you must have that bath, though the sun be hotter than you like and the soup cool for your delay. Quickly then divested of your uncomfortable every day armor, you are arrayed in the flannel which *John* has set ready. . . . You see to it that the fastenings are strong; and, with a broad protection for the head, rush down to the shore. . . . Into the surf you haste with your companion bathers; you can swim, and you are willing it should be known.

Then came dinner.

A very good thing is a dinner at the Moultrie House. You are perfectly cool, and give yourself up to your appetite. . . . So do all the others who crowd the long tables. . . . You think that the Moultrie House must be well "patronized," and begin to suspect that this may be a moderately "fashionable resort" after all . . . when you inquire about your room and lodgings; but Mixer has an indefatigable way of managing these things insomuch that none shall be turned away unsatisfied.

Dinner was followed by a round of other activities.

⁶⁶ Middleton, *Life in Carolina and New England*, pp. 82 ff.

⁶⁷ This company had been chartered in 1850 along with the hotel company (*S. C. Statutes*, XII, 21-23).

And so composedly you pass off the day. The resources for that are more inexhaustible than those of the General Government, and you choose your own amusement . . . , or if it pleases your own idleness . . . your segar, your billiards, your conversation, your music, your "hop," your flirtation, your walk or ride on the beach, your tea, and . . . your sleep.⁶⁸

Another resort of Charlestonians was Mount Pleasant, located on the mainland across the Cooper River and the bay from Charleston. Formerly called Haddrell's Point after Jacob Motte's adjoining plantation, it had long been a summer retreat for the planters of Christ Church Parish.⁶⁹ Some of them were trustees of the Mount Pleasant Academy, chartered in 1809.⁷⁰ Andrew Hibben, Joshua Toomer, Samuel Venning, and Elias Whilden were commissioners of the Town of Mount Pleasant, which was incorporated in 1837 with the union of the villages of Mount Pleasant and Greenwich.⁷¹ In time Mount Pleasant came to be something of a rival of near-by Moultrieville on Sullivan's Island. A visitor in 1852 praised the superior advantages of the new and commodious Mount Pleasant House, located near the Landing, with a fine view of the harbor, the city, and the islands.⁷² "The country and the sea shore are there united," he wrote. The hotel, kept by a Mr. Moses, had bowling and billiard saloons "for those fond of healthful exercise and relaxation"; and the guests were treated to "some brilliant vocal and instrumental music, volunteered by accomplished amateurs residing in the house."

Not possessing all of Sullivan's Island's artificial improvements, Mount Pleasant rather prided itself on its more rural appearance and atmosphere. The *Courier's* correspondent, "Rusticus," played on this theme in his description of the place in 1858:

The steamer takes her time to come over leisurely, giving you a chance to keep cool; and on your arrival you walk slowly and quietly over the long bridge to the hotel, or wherever you are going, perfectly independent of railroad trains, which cannot run over you . . . or hurry you out of your sense of propriety.

He declared that the inhabitants depended for beauty on the natural

⁶⁸ Charleston *Courier*, Aug. 9, 1858.

⁶⁹ WPA, Writers' Program, *Palmetto Place Names* (Columbia, 1941), p. 75; Mazyck, *Guide to Charleston*, p. 112.

⁷⁰ S. C. Statutes, VIII, 254.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 582.

⁷² Charleston *Courier*, Aug. 11, 1852.

groves and woodlands, not being "disposed to mar the effect . . . by the employment of the vulgar appendages of art"; and he added that they had "no elegant specimens of architecture."

Our houses were nearly all built in the good old times when . . . people were satisfied with the plain one-story cottages, usually inhabited by farmers and planters as temporary retreats from the impure air of their country seats. Nevertheless, quite a number of neat and tasteful dwellings have been erected. . . .

Some artistic improvements had been made in the interest of convenience and pleasure. For example, the grading of the main street provided an attractive course for the afternoon and evening promenade or ride. Not all of the inhabitants indulged in such pleasures, however. "Rusticus" continued:

The permanent residents are an industrious, hard working community. They comprise, chiefly, the planters and farmers of the parish, who in accordance with long established custom, repair to their country seats at the first dawn of morning and are not again seen about town until after dark, when they return home wearied . . . and go to bed safe out of harm's way at a very moderate hour.

For the benefit of Charlestonians, the correspondent reported the local saying that "all epidemics—moral and physical—are imported from your city." To bolster their morals, the citizens of Mount Pleasant had three churches—Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist; and for recreation during their few leisure hours, fox and deer hunting.⁷³

The planters of the North and South Santee rivers and of the lower Winyah region resorted to McClellanville, to Murphy Island, to Cedar Island, and to South Island.⁷⁴ McClellanville grew up in the 1850's on lands owned by A. J. McClellan and R. T. Morrison.⁷⁵ The first residents leased lands from McClellan, who in 1860 sold lots to Captain Thomas Pinckney, Gabriel Manigault, and Stephen D. Doar. At this time there were only six houses and a schoolhouse in the village. On a point opposite McClellanville, Colonel Samuel J. Palmer and his brother, Dr. John Palmer, spent their summers. The South Santee planters had a small village on Cedar Island, from which they went up the river every day to at-

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1858.

⁷⁴ Doar, *Rice and Rice Planting*, p. 38; and *A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, p. 16.

⁷⁵ Doar, *Sketch*, pp. 28-29.

tend to their plantations.⁷⁶ They enlivened their trips by racing each other in their three- or four-oared boats with auxiliary sails; and once a week they had a fishing party and picnic dinner on Ocean Beach. Among the planters who had residences on South Island were Alexander Hume and Frederick Wentworth Ford (whose wife was Mary Mazyck Hume), both North Santee planters.⁷⁷

North Island, across Winyah Bay from South Island, was the retreat of Sampit River planters.⁷⁸ General Peter Horry, of Belle Isle Plantation, was residing on the island in the summer of 1812.⁷⁹ About this time, Paul Trapier, of Windsor Plantation on Black River, and his family were spending the summers on the island.⁸⁰ Between six and seven hundred people were said to assemble on North Island during the summer.⁸¹ Included among the several beach colonies on the island was the thriving and attractive village at North Inlet, which was swept away with the loss of several lives in the great storm of 1822, while the inhabitants, "as was their accustomed manner, were making and receiving visits, and smiling in all the sweets of social intercourse."⁸²

Waccamaw River planters had the advantage of having retreats within easy reach of their plantation dwellings, either on the beach heads of their own lands, which stretched from river to sea, or at near-by resorts, to which they migrated in summer with their families, friends, pastors, teachers, and servants.⁸³ Such was the case

⁷⁶ Doar, *Rice*, p. 39.

⁷⁷ Charleston *Mercury*, Oct. 20, 1853 (advertisement of the sale of Hume's estate by his executors); Wallace, *History of S. C.*, IV, 409.

⁷⁸ Doar, *Rice*, p. 38.

⁷⁹ A. S. Salley, ed., "Journal of General Peter Horry," *SCHGM*, XXXVIII-XLII (1937-1942), *passim*.

⁸⁰ Notices of Ancestors and Relatives, Paternal & Maternal & of Incidents in My Life, 1865, by the Rev. Paul Trapier (transcript, College of Charleston Library), p. 46.

⁸¹ Mills, *Statistics*, p. 570.

⁸² John S. Capers, *A Discourse Delivered in the Baptist Church, Georgetown, South Carolina, on Thursday the 7th of November Commemorative of the Late Storm on the Night of the 27th of September, 1822* [Georgetown, 1822], pp. 19-23; Camden (S. C.) *Southern Chronicle*, Oct. 9, 1822. The church and many of the 100 houses were destroyed. Other settlements were Lafayette, where R. S. Green, Georgetown schoolmaster, had his school in 1825 (*Georgetown Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1825), and La Grange, said to be both "enchanting and salubrious" (Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 34).

⁸³ Dalcho, *Protestant Episcopal Church in S. C.*, p. 322; Anon., "Recollections of a Visit to the Waccamaw," *Living Age*, LIV (Aug. 1, 1857), 292; H. A. M. Smith, "Hobcaw Barony," *SCHGM*, XIV (April, 1913), 67; WPA, Writers' Program, *The Intracoastal Highway* (Washington, 1937), p. 22.

with Captain William Alston (1756-1839), of Clifton Plantation, who had a large seashore house on Du Bordieu Island.⁸⁴ On this island, which was separated by an inlet from North Island, the Reverend William Capers of Georgetown carried on his school and preached every Sunday during the summer of 1817.⁸⁵

Planters on the Pee Dee and Black rivers came to their retreats by a more circuitous route. Thus the family of R. F. W. Allston of Chicora Wood, which was only four miles west of the sea, had to go eleven miles, seven by water and four by land, to reach the seashore.⁸⁶ In a rowboat, accompanied by several "great flats" containing the "vehicles, horses, cows, furniture, bedding, trunks and provisions," they moved down the Pee Dee and into the Waccamaw, landed at Waverly Plantation wharf, and rode on to Canaan, their summer residence. In 1845 Allston built a house on Pawley's Island; and thereafter, until the Civil War, the family spent occasional summers there.⁸⁷ This house, which faced the beach, was a story and a half high and built in two sections, joined at right angles, each containing four rooms and surrounded by piazzas. Most of these summer beach cottages were comfortable, though roughly built. One of the most substantial was said to be that of Plowden C. J. Weston, of Hagley Plantation, whose summer residence was on Pawley's Island.⁸⁸ While some had their own houses, others came to Pawley's to visit, as did J. B. Grimball's son, Arthur, in July, 1860, on the invitation of his friend Theodosius Allston.⁸⁹

The planters on the islands and rivers below Charleston also had their summer seashore retreats. James Island planters had a settlement near Fort Johnson. The Reverend Paul Trapier, Rector of St. Andrew's Parish in the 1830's, went there every Sunday after-

⁸⁴ Jared B. Flagg, *The Life and Letters of Washington Allston* (New York, 1892), p. 3; Salley, ed., "Journal of General Peter Horry," *SCHGM*, XXXIX (July, 1938), 126.

⁸⁵ Wightman, *Capers*, pp. 192, 196.

⁸⁶ Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 67 ff.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 113; Patience Pennington [Elizabeth Waties Allston Pringle], *A Woman Rice Planter* (New York, 1913), p. 58 n.

⁸⁸ Doar, *Rice*, p. 38. Other settlements on the Waccamaw Neck seashore were DeKalb, Magnolia Beach, and La Bruce's, all said to be "equally delightful as to aspect, society and healthfulness" (Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 34). William Capers, who about 1794 bought a plantation on the island between the Waccamaw and Black rivers, summered first "at a rented place called La Bruce's" before he secured his own seashore place, BelleVue, some twenty miles from Georgetown, in 1796 (Wightman, *Capers*, p. 29).

⁸⁹ Grimball Diary, XII, 100.

noon during the summer.⁹⁰ The settlement is said to have been called Secessionville long before 1860 because of the "secession" of the planters from their plantations to this place for the summer.⁹¹ The summer resort of John's Island planters was Legareville, named after the Legaré family, original owners of the site.⁹² One of the summer residents of Legareville was Paul Grimball, with whom J. B. Grimball visited the village in October, 1853, making the trip from Charleston by rowboat in about three hours.⁹³ Wadmalaw Islanders had Rockville, a pleasant, cool, and healthful village with shady walks, possessing an Episcopal Church and a Presbyterian Church.⁹⁴

Edisto Island's seashore resort was on Eding's Bay.⁹⁵ The Edings were a prominent island family. The settlement came to be called Edingsville Beach or Edingsville. Lavasseur, the secretary of Lafayette, who visited the island in 1824, noted the "beautiful palm trees, which gave to the small dwellings they shaded an aspect altogether picturesque."⁹⁶ At this time the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians were worshiping together in the academy building, the former having built a "parsonage house" at Edingsville in 1822.⁹⁷ Under this arrangement the ministers of the two sects alternated every Sunday, one preaching in the morning and the other in the evening. Desiring a more convenient place in which to hold their services, the two congregations on June 30, 1824, entered into a joint agreement to build a church; but before the building was completed a dispute arose over the addition of a reading desk to the pulpit for the Episcopal clergyman, and the two sects agreed to a friendly separation. The Episcopalians bought out the interest of the Presbyterians in the building, which was consecrated by Bishop Bowen in 1826 as St. Stephen's Chapel, Edingsville.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Trapier MS, Notices of Ancestors & Relatives, p. 75.

⁹¹ WPA, Writers' Program, *The Ocean Highway* (New York, 1938), p.

195.

⁹² [Diocese of South Carolina], *Report of the Committee on the Destruction of Churches in the Diocese of South Carolina . . . May, 1868* (Charleston, 1868), p. 8; Writers' Program, *Palmetto Place Names*, p. 65.

⁹³ Grimball Diary, XI, 69.

⁹⁴ *Charleston Courier*, July 9, 1858.

⁹⁵ Dalcho, *Protestant Episcopal Church in S. C.*, p. 392; Isaac Jenkins Mikell, *Rumbling of the Chariot Wheels* (Columbia, 1923), p. 182; Mason Crum, *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham, N. C., 1940), p. 37.

⁹⁶ Crum, *Gullah*, p. 38.

⁹⁷ E. M. Seabrook, *The History of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Edisto Island* (Charleston, 1853), pp. 30-33.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-39.

In time, according to Mikell, the village came to number about sixty families, who "might enjoy the luxuries of the plantation, about six or seven miles off, the social intercourse of a village, and the gayeties of a bathing resort."⁹⁹ "Life then and there," he wrote, "was one summer's dream. There the art of being busy and doing nothing was brought to a fine point by most of the younger planters." A sojourner at Edingsville in 1838 was J. B. Grimball.¹⁰⁰ Deciding to spend the summer there rather than at Charleston, he secured, after some difficulty, the beach house of Edward Mikell, for which he paid \$130 rent, and rented out his own town house for \$600. Grimball first moved his family to town for a few days and then embarked them and his horses and carriage on the steamboat for Edisto, which they reached about midnight, having had to put back on account of engine trouble. After spending the remainder of the night at Oliver Middleton's house, they went to their own, which was near that of Whitemarsh Seabrook. Their "things arrived by the Sloop" about ten days later. The Mikells, another prominent Edisto family, were intimately and profitably associated with the resort. Ephraim Mikell owned the sandbank on which the village stood and collected a ground rent of thirty dollars from every householder.¹⁰¹ In the Charleston *Courier* of June 8, 1852, E. S. Mikell announced that the Atlantic Hotel at Edingsville would open July 1, offering "a rare opportunity . . . to those in search of health and pleasure, to avail themselves of the benefits of this salubrious Atlantic Watering Place."

The planters on St. Helena Island built up their own health resort on the seaward side of the island.¹⁰² Located on an eight-foot bluff above the creek, the village, called St. Helenaville, consisted, by 1860, of two churches and a dozen cottages, each with its servants' cabins. The villagers might walk in the shadow of the pine wood or bathe at high tide in the salt water that washed the long, sandy beach and enjoy the fresh, cool ocean breezes. Among the summer residents of St. Helenaville were William Fripp and Thomas B. Chaplin.¹⁰³

St. Luke's Parish planters might go to Bluffton or to Hilton

⁹⁹ Mikell, *Rumbling of the Chariot Wheels*, pp. 182-183.

¹⁰⁰ See Grimball Diary, VI, entries for May 1-23, 1838.

¹⁰¹ Porcher Memoirs, chap. ix.

¹⁰² Johnson, *Sea Islands*, p. 110.

¹⁰³ See Thomas B. Chaplin Diary, 1845-1857 (South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston).

Head Island and the other sea islands along the coast of lower Beaufort District. The settlement on the bluff overlooking the tidal May River was at first called Kirk's Bluff, after a neighboring planter family.¹⁰⁴ The Popes were also prominent in the community, and, to avoid honoring one family more than the other, the name was changed to Bluffton. The healthful location attracted summer residents, and the village grew. A small frame church of Gothic design was built by the Episcopalians. At a dinner held in the village on July 31, 1841, Robert Barnwell Rhett launched the so-called "Bluffton Movement."¹⁰⁵ Bluffton was incorporated as a town in 1852.¹⁰⁶

NEWPORT

South Carolina planters were among the "numerous wealthy inhabitants of the Southern Colonies" who as early as 1765 were said to resort every summer to Newport, Rhode Island.¹⁰⁷ The South Carolinians were both health seekers and pleasure lovers; and the little commercial capital soon became known as a "Carolina Hospital." In the nine years prior to 1776 more than 260 South Carolinians visited Newport, and some of them were regular summer sojourners.¹⁰⁸ They came up on the packet that plied between Charleston and Newport. On August 3, 1767, the Newport *Mercury* reported the arrival of Messrs. Motte and Izard and their ladies. The *Mercury* of June 26, 1769, listed among the arrivals from South Carolina Henry Middleton and his family. Another sojourner at this time was Colonel Joseph Glover, of St. Bartholomew's Parish. On October 16, 1769, Glover's wife bore him a daughter, who was named Rhodia and baptized in Trinity Church, Newport.¹⁰⁹ Among the arrivals in 1774 were Lieutenant-Governor William Bull and his nephew William Bull, Gabriel Manigault, Thomas Shubrick and Thomas Shubrick, Jr., Nicholas Ever-

¹⁰⁴ N. L. Willet, *Beaufort County, South Carolina: The Shrines, Early History and Topography* (rev. ed.; Beaufort, S. C., 1940), pp. 29-30.

¹⁰⁵ Laura White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession* (New York, 1931), p. 74.

¹⁰⁶ *S. C. Statutes*, XII, 172-175.

¹⁰⁷ Carl Bridenbaugh, "Charlestonians at Newport, 1767-1775," *SCHGM*, XLI (April, 1940), 43. Bridenbaugh is quoting Governor Robert Melville of His Majesty's Colony of Grenada.

¹⁰⁸ The notices of arrivals and departures of South Carolinians which appeared in the Newport *Mercury* during these years are given by Bridenbaugh in the article cited above.

¹⁰⁹ W. L. Glover, comp., "Colonel Joseph Glover and His Descendants," *SCHGM*, XL (Jan., 1939), 9.

leigh and Miss Everleigh, Miss Elizabeth Vanderhorst, and Maurice Simons and family.¹¹⁰

The connection between Charleston and Newport was only temporarily interrupted by the Revolution. When it was over, the resort of South Carolinians to Newport continued as before. A visitor in 1786, Francis Kinloch (1755-1826), of Kensington, Georgetown District, whose wife was the daughter of John Rutledge of Charleston, in a letter written from Newport, July 8, said:

You will perceive by the date, that I have changed the heated atmosphere of Charleston for a much happier climate, & no climate surely deserves the appellation of happy more than this, where the sun is only warm enough to bring the fruits of the earth to perfection, where the means of life are cheap, & of the best quality, and where the air is purity itself.¹¹¹

Francis Kinloch's brother, Cleland Kinloch (1760-1823), of Wehaw, St. James's, Goose Creek, and his wife, the former Harriott Simmons of Charleston, were summer colonists at Newport in the years prior to 1807.¹¹² In later years Cleland Kinloch's son-in-law and successor, Henry Augustus Middleton, was a familiar figure there.¹¹³ Another summer sojourner was Ralph Stead Izard, Jr. (1815-1858), Georgetown District planter.¹¹⁴ In 1802, General William Moultrie and Henry William DeSaussure, former Intendant of Charleston, were at Newport.¹¹⁵ A visitor in 1804 was John Blake White, artist and lawyer, of St. John's, Berkeley, and Charleston, who there passed many hours in the company of his future wife, Eliza Allston, daughter of Francis Allston, of All Saint's, Waccamaw.¹¹⁶ On his return from Europe in 1809, Washington Allston, who had been at Newport during his student days, married the daughter of William Channing of Newport; later he resided at 31

¹¹⁰ *Newport Mercury*, June 6, July 11, Aug. 15, 1774.

¹¹¹ Felix Gilbert, ed., "Letters of Francis Kinloch to Thomas Boone, 1782-1788," *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935—), VIII (Feb., 1942), 101.

¹¹² Anne King Gregorie, "Cleland Kinloch," *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols. and index; New York, 1928-1937), X (1933), 414.

¹¹³ Langdon Cheves, "Middletons of South Carolina," *SCHGM*, I (July, 1900), 258.

¹¹⁴ Cheves, "Izard of South Carolina," *SCHGM*, II (July, 1901), 239.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Pinckney, Jr., to Miss Harriot Pinckney, New York, Aug. 13, 1802, in *SCHGM*, XLI (July, 1940), 115.

¹¹⁶ Mabel L. Webber, ed., "Records from the Blake and White Bibles," *SCHGM*, XXXVI (July, 1935), 90.

Clarke Street in Newport.¹¹⁷ There he was visited by his fellow-artist, Charles Fraser, of St. James's, Goose Creek, and Charleston, who made summer excursions to Newport in the years after 1806.¹¹⁸

Mrs. Floride Bonneau Colhoun, widow of Senator John Ewing Colhoun of Charleston and Pendleton Districts, had a cottage at Newport and spent many summers (and a few winters) there.¹¹⁹ She had as a guest in 1804, 1805, and 1806 her late husband's cousin, John Caldwell Calhoun (1782-1850), Yale graduate and law student at Litchfield, Connecticut, who was soon to enter upon his public career and later to marry her daughter Floride.¹²⁰ Recording his impression of Newport, young Calhoun wrote:

Newport is quite a pleasant place, but it has rather an old appearance which gives it a somewhat melancholy aspect. I have found no part of New England more agreeable than the island of Rhode Island. Agreeably situated, well cultivated and possessed of a good soil and delightful climate, it seems to possess all that can contribute to the pleasure of man.¹²¹

In 1805 Mrs. Colhoun with her children—the thirteen-year-old Floride and John and James—and accompanied by John Caldwell Calhoun, drove to Newport “in her family coach, drawn by four splendid gray horses, with the reins held by an English coachman in full livery.”¹²² Newport was the birthplace in August, 1825, of Charles Manly Cheves, son of Calhoun's colleague Langdon Cheves and his Charleston-bred wife, Mary Dulles.¹²³

The Ball Family of Cooper River was intimately associated with Newport. John Ball, Sr., had begun to spend summers there as early

¹¹⁷ Flagg, *Life and Letters of Washington Allston*, pp. 9, 81; WPA, Writers' Program, *Rhode Island, A Guide to the Smallest State* (Boston, 1937), p. 226.

¹¹⁸ Charles Fraser, *A Charleston Sketchbook, 1796-1806* (Charleston, 1940), note to Sketch No. 40 by Alice R. Huger Smith, ed.

¹¹⁹ Gaillard Hunt, *John C. Calhoun* (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 20; William M. Meigs, *The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun* (2 vols.; New York, 1917), I, 70; A. S. Salley, “Calhoun Family of South Carolina,” *SCHGM*, VII (April-July, 1906), 154. See Mrs. Colhoun's letter from Newport dated Sept. 2, 1800, in *SCHGM*, IV (April, 1903), 190.

¹²⁰ Meigs, *Calhoun*, I, 91.

¹²¹ Calhoun to Alexander Noble, Newport, Oct. 15, 1804, *ibid.*, I, 71.

¹²² Col. W. Pinckney Starke's account of Calhoun's early life, in J. Franklin Jamieson, ed., “Correspondence of John C. Calhoun,” *American Historical Association Report*, 1899, II (Washington, 1900), 83 ff.

¹²³ Bennett, “Cheves Family,” *SCHGM*, XXXV (July-Oct., 1934), 94.

as 1796.¹²⁴ On September 7, 1827, Hugh Swinton Ball (1808-1838) wrote to his half-brother, John Ball, Jr., that he had been at Newport all summer and was "delighted in the climate," both he and his wife having "enjoyed uninterrupted good health."¹²⁵ In his reply, John Ball, Jr., declared:

Newport is certainly the most pleasant summer climate, I believe in the United States. If you are fond of shooting you can exercise without the risk of overheat and find plenty of Plover on the Island or if you prefer fishing and sailing Newport Harbour is a delightful one for such amusements.¹²⁶

Elias Octavus Ball (1809-1843), another brother, visited Newport on his Northern excursions in 1828, 1829, and 1830, being accompanied the last year by his brother Alwyn (1807-1835).¹²⁷ Their sister Susannah and her husband, William E. Haskell, were at Newport for the season in 1830. By 1830 Newport had become something of a watering place, and the Balls found themselves part of a growing summer colony. H. S. Ball reported on July 26:

Newport is now quite crowded. I have never seen more or, even as many strangers here at one time, before. The warm weather, in the large cities, has sent them here to breathe a pure atmosphere & get the refreshing sea breeze—this place is much more resorted to than formerly, but there is not sufficient accomodation [*sic*], especially for transient borders [*sic*].¹²⁸

The aristocratic Southern families who migrated to Newport in the early days, it is said, had resided "in the compact part of the town where they bought or rented rather modest houses."¹²⁹ About 1825 Newport had acquired its first regular hotel for summer visitors—the Bellevue, operated by William Porter.¹³⁰ During the decade of the 1830's the building of temporary summer cottages began. Twelve new summer homes had been built by 1852, some

¹²⁴ See his expense account there in the summer of 1796, in John Ball Account Book, June, 1796 (Duke University Library).

¹²⁵ H. S. Ball to J. Ball, Sept. 1, 1827, Ball Papers. H. S. Ball had been at Newport the preceding year (*idem* to *idem*, Sept. 29, 1826). On March 8, 1827, he had married Anna Channing of Boston.

¹²⁶ J. Ball to H. S. Ball, Charleston, Sept. 20, 1827, *ibid*.

¹²⁷ E. O. Ball to J. Ball, July 14 and Aug. 16, 1828, July 14, 1829; H. S. Ball to J. Ball, July 26, 1830, *ibid*.

¹²⁸ H. S. Ball to J. Ball, July 26, 1830, *ibid*. The next year he reported "upwards of 1000" visitors (*idem* to *idem*, Sept. 2, 1831).

¹²⁹ *Rhode Island Guide*, p. 206.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

by Southern families; and not all of these were mere cottages. There were also by this time additional hotel accommodations. On April 2, 1845, John G. Weaver had announced that the Ocean House, enlarged to take care of three hundred persons "as a result of the insufficiency of accommodations last season for the numerous visitors to our delightful Island," would open on June 10.¹³¹ Also scheduled to open on that day was A. A. Potter's newly completed Atlantic House, which had a capacity of two hundred.¹³²

Life at Newport was taking on the usual watering-place activity. The routine occasionally proved too strenuous for the Southern planter, if not for his family. At least, such was the experience of L. A. Taveau.

Here we are Since a month [he wrote to his son on August 24, 1842], my views, in Coming here was [*sic*] to rusticate, but instead of that we are in a volcano of dissipating and I am Completely tired of it, and make [*sic*] me nearly regret to have left Charleston for I am afraid it will be [a] hard task to bring your Sisters to a peaceable life but I am in hope, in a week longer—nearly all the dissipation will be over everyone will be looking for Home: but poor me. I cannot think of being there before Six Weeks. My intention being to Sail in the first Week in October, that is if Charleston continue to be healthy.¹³³

Such a sojourner the writer in the *New England Magazine* may have had in mind when he declared in 1831:

If the planter's patriotism be so rigid that he will pass his summers in Charleston, it is at a grievous sacrifice of comfort and liberty. It is unsafe for him to be abroad when the sun shines or the dew falls; his house is, therefore, not only his castle, but his prison.

Behold him then in New England, where he disburses liberally the remnant of the splendid income, that rains, droughts, storms and tariffs have left him. Our arts, stages, steam-boats, hotels, and shops, have all a share of his property, and all who know him esteem his frankness, his social qualities, and his high feelings. The individual is honored but the class is contemned.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Charleston *Daily Courier*, April 2, 1845.

¹³² *Ibid.*, March 25, 1845.

¹³³ L. A. Taveau to A. L. Taveau, Newport, Aug. 24, 1842, Taveau Papers.

¹³⁴ "G. M.," "South Carolina, No. II," *New England Magazine*, I (Sept.-Oct., 1831), 340-341.

CHAPTER III

TO "THE PINE"

Not all planters were favorably situated for migrating to "the Salt" in order to occupy town houses or resort to sea-island beaches. The planters of the upper or inland parishes, in the years following 1790 when their plantations were no longer healthful, sought and found summer retreats near at hand.

Of late years it has been discovered that there are certain healthy spots, even in the country, during the most sickly months. These are the pine barrens at a distance from the swamps. To be safe in them it is necessary that the land be as barren as possible, and that not a tree be cut down except to leave room for the house. Even a little garden it is considered would entail some risk.¹

Another traveler reported in 1836 that "the wealthy portion of the landed proprietors" who did not go North, sought "the shelter of the dry sandy soil of the Pine-barrens, and on their heights breathe health and life; whilst below and around, at no great distance, stalk disease and death."²

On these pine ridges, from twenty to forty miles from the coast, a number of little villages developed out of the settlements of a few planters. One of the oldest of these settlements was Summerville, said to have been "settled as a health resort by owners of Plantations in lower South Carolina as early as 1729."³ Certainly it is that by 1790 planters of the Parishes of St. George and St. Paul had residences there in which they "marooned" during the summer.⁴ Summerville was also convenient to many of the planters of St. James's, Goose Creek, and St. Andrew's; and it adjoined the extensive Blake plantation of Newington, later (1837) the property of Henry Augustus Middleton.⁵ Twenty-two miles from Charleston, Summerville

¹ Hodgson, *Remarks*, p. 123.

² Power, *Impressions*, II, 97.

³ Elizabeth M. Jamison, *Summerville, Past and Present* (n. p. [1939]), p. 3.

⁴ Legaré Walker, *A Sketch of the Town of Summerville* [Summerville, S. C., 1910], p. 6; H. A. Middleton Smith, "The Town of Dorchester in South Carolina—a Sketch of Its History," *SCHGM*, VI (April, 1905), 86.

⁵ E. T. H. Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939), p. 167.

was reached by the River Road that ran past the plantations on the left bank of the Ashley; the road over which traveled the stages from Charleston to the up country did not go through the settlement, but was reached by a connecting trail.⁶

A visitor of 1808 recalled that several families were spending the summer in what appeared to be a small village.⁷ Among them were Warings, Perrys, and Mileses. By 1828 there were twenty-three houses there. In the latter year an Episcopal clergyman, the Reverend Philip Gadsden, began to minister to the summer settlers; and two years later a chapel of ease to St. Paul's Church, Stono, was built in the village.⁸ The Presbyterians built a chapel of ease for the "Old White Church" of Dorchester to serve the planters in the summer.⁹ Summerville had its private schools, and in 1817 the Dorchester Free School had been moved there.¹⁰ The South Carolina Rail Road was built through Summerville in 1830; the following year that company purchased a large tract of land adjoining the village, on part of which tract a town was laid out.¹¹ The deeds to lots contained a clause protecting the pine trees. This "New Summerville" was said to have been settled by Charleston families, while the planter families continued to reside in the old village.

A Charlestonian who spent a few days in Summerville in May, 1837, has left an account of his visit. Leaving Charleston one morning on the railroad, with a parting injunction from his friends not to sleep at Summerville for fear of getting the country fever, he arrived there two hours later and put up at the hotel located near the station and "admirably well kept" by Mrs. Cramer. Here he found the fare excellent and everything in his room "in beautiful style." He slept soundly until seven o'clock the next morning, being awakened only once, about three, by the cold, which made him pull up the bed clothes. "Refreshed and invigorated," he went down to

⁶ Jamison, *Summerville*, pp. 6, 15.

⁷ Walker, *Sketch*, pp. 6-7, quoting "Summerville's Oldest Inhabitant" [John Gadsden], "History of Summerville," *Summerville News*, June 7 and 14, 1901.

⁸ Jamison, *Summerville*, p. 20; [Diocese of South Carolina], *Special Services Held at St. Philip's Church, Charleston, S. C., on the 12th and 13th of May, 1875, in Commemoration of the Planting of the Church of England in the Province of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1876), p. 153.

⁹ F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, eds., *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850* (Columbia, 1926), p. 623.

¹⁰ Jamison, *Summerville*, pp. 25-26; *S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 293.

¹¹ Jamison, *Summerville*, p. 6; Walker, *Sketch*, p. 7.

breakfast and then out to survey the village, contrasting the bracing morning breeze "that swept through the boughs of the long-leaved pines" with the "hot, sweltering air of Charleston." On his walk he noticed "the white goats . . . browsing along the borders of a gurgling stream that winds through the village" and "the singular architecture of some of the dwellings." Returning to the hotel, he passed some time in the merry company of several boarders who were "enjoying the luxury of a fine piazza." About two o'clock a planter friend called for him in his carriage to take him home for dinner. After dinner they were joined by some friends and villagers and sat under the oaks in the yard, indulging in "the luxury of a Spanish cigar and a rich glass of Madeira." From this indulgence they were summoned to the weekly meeting at the clubhouse. There they enjoyed more wine and a discussion of things agricultural in the "delightful confraternity of feeling so much to be desired, but so seldom found in small villages." Nor yet was the round of entertainment ended.

From the club-house we retired to the hospitable mansion of one of the party, where a hot supper was succeeded by a copious libation of sparkling champagne. . . . No village curfew . . . broke in upon the festive board.

The next day he was taken on a hunt, after which he returned to Charleston "to be again annoyed by the dust, the rattling of carts and drays, mosquitoes and sand flies," and to wonder why Charlestonians did not visit Summerville more frequently.¹²

Summerville was incorporated in 1847, and one of the first municipal ordinances prohibited the cutting of pine trees within the town limits without the consent of the council.¹³ To do so was a misdemeanor and entailed a fine of twenty-five dollars. Another ordinance provided for the destruction of dead trees, which were thought to kill the live ones. Thus did the town live up to its motto: *Sacra Pinus Esto*. The council met in the "Village Hall," which was also "a dance hall and place of amusement for the villagers old and young."¹⁴ The only store in Summerville was a small one kept by Captain Porter and known as "Porter's Store."

¹² Anon., "A Day at Summerville," *Southern Literary Journal and Magazine of Arts*, N. S. (3 vols.; Charleston, 1836-1838), I (May, 1837), 227-231.

¹³ S. C. Statutes, XI, 460; Jamison, *Summerville*, p. 5; Walker, *Sketch*,

p. 7.
¹⁴ Jamison, *Summerville*, p. 28.

With the passing of the years the village grew slowly, increasing its population and accommodations. In the summer of 1855 the proprietor of the Summerville House, I. T. Brown, announced that he had recently put his place in complete order and added a ten-pin alley and billiard room.¹⁵ He declared that the Summerville House, located in the midst of the pines, yet contiguous to the village, surrounded by wide piazzas, with spacious parlors, ample halls, and comfortable and airy chambers, together with all the substantial and luxuries of a well supplied table, combines all the comforts of a City hotel, with the enjoyments of country life.

He was ready to accommodate "the closely occupied citizen" and "families wishing to be private." His rates were \$1.25 a day, \$7.00 a week, \$25.50 a month. Boarders would be furnished tickets at fifty cents each for passage on the railroad, which now ran two or three trains each way daily and made the trip from the city in an hour. At the depot they would be met by his carriage.¹⁶ By 1860 Summerville had five hotels and boarding houses, three churches, two public buildings, nine stores, 372 dwellings and servants' houses, and 1,088 inhabitants, of whom 548 were whites.¹⁷ This growth is mirrored in the rather flowery language of a contemporary account:

Now, the old village has become somewhat metropolitan in its appearance, regulation and taste. The primitive cottage homes of the early inhabitants are fast giving place to a more pretending style of architecture. Handsome churches and commodious hotels abound, such as Mr. Brown's, Captain Vose's and Mr. Cooper's Paradise, where many persons spend their summers, not because they are sick but that they may keep in good condition, enjoying the pure air and pleasant company. . . . Summerville has . . . its fashionable drives, thronged, when in season, with gay equipages and fair equestrians—and there are shady walks where lovers range through whispering groves, in sight of running brooks, and breathe their vows in hearing of the singing birds.¹⁸

¹⁵ Charleston *Daily Courier*, July 11, 1855.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1858.

¹⁷ Elizabeth A. Poyas, *Days of Yore* (Charleston, 1870), p. 11. In addition to the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, there was now a Methodist Church. The Episcopalians, still served by Mr. Gadsden, had been organized as a separate church in 1855 and had completed a new building in 1857 (Jamison, *Summerville*, p. 20; *S. C. Statutes*, XII, 410). Summerville now had both a new town hall and a dance hall.

¹⁸ Quoted in Poyas, *Days of Yore*, pp. 8-10.

In the pineland to the southwest of Charleston were Adams Run and Walterboro in Colleton District; and the Beaufort District villages of Gillisonville, Grahamville, Hardeeville, Heywardville, McPhersonville, and Robertville. Adams Run, in St. Paul's Parish, was a retreat for Pon Pon or Edisto River planters, among them the Grimballs, Manigaults, and Morrisises.¹⁹ In an act passed December 16, 1852, the Legislature declared that "all persons, citizens of this State, or of the United States, now owning or occupying dwelling houses, or residing in the village of Adams' Run, during the season that persons resort thither for health, shall be . . . a body politic."²⁰ Other Edisto River planters, together with those on the Ashepoo and Combahee, might resort to Walterboro in St. Bartholomew's Parish. This pineland village, it is said, grew up around the settlement of two lowland planters, Paul and Jacob Walter, who had selected the site in 1784.²¹ It was, at all events, the resort of rice planters before 1800. Made the seat of justice for Colleton District in 1817 and incorporated in 1826, Walterboro thereafter served a dual purpose.²² In 1832 it was described as "a place of considerable retail trade, and the resort for health during the summer months from the sickly parts of the District, at which season the population is about 900, but at other times it is less than half that number."²³ Walterboro, at this time, had "a handsome court house" and a jail; Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches; a library and a market house; and male and female academies.²⁴ At the courthouse, where the first public Nullification meeting had been held in 1828, many political meetings were held in the controversial years that followed. One of Walterboro's summer residents was Robert Barnwell Rhett, planter and politician, whose plantations were in Colleton District.²⁵

McPhersonville in Prince William's Parish was never diverted from its original purpose. The site was selected as a health retreat

¹⁹ Grimball Diary, I, 57; VI, 136; XI, 98.

²⁰ *S. C. Statutes*, XII, 148.

²¹ Beula Glover, "Walterboro," *The Sportsman's Paradise* (Columbia, Season of 1938-1939), p. 26.

²² *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 123, 287.

²³ Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 14.

²⁴ The Episcopal Church was a chapel of ease for St. Bartholomew's Parish. It was later (1855) established as St. Jude's Parish ([Diocese of South Carolina], *Special Services*, p. 166). The library had been built in 1820 when the Walterboro Library Society was formed (*S. C. Guide*, p. 288). The Society was chartered Dec. 20, 1821 (*S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 320).

²⁵ White, *Rhett*, pp. 5, 14, 226 n. 13.

by Colonel John McPherson, of Laurium Plantation, and John McLeod, while they were on a hunting trip in the pineland about 1800.²⁶ Its healthfulness was demonstrated by their residence there with their families the following summer; on the invitation of Colonel McPherson, other planters built and settled near by, receiving or purchasing lots from him. Among the summer residents of McPhersonville were the William Maine Hutsons, of Cedar Grove, the Richard Woodward Hutsons, of Jericho, and the Hutsons of Inverness.²⁷ Frederick Grimke Fraser of BelleVue came there in the summers of 1831 and 1832.²⁸ Though practically deserted in winter, the village by then had a considerable summer population.²⁹ In the summer of 1833 McPhersonville was dignified by the erection of two frame churches, a chapel of ease for the congregation of Sheldon Church, Prince William's Parish, and another for the Stoney Creek Presbyterian Church.³⁰ Later, through the efforts of the McPhersonville Educational Society, chartered in 1839, the village was served by a school.³¹ It also had its bowling alley and billiard room. Grahamville, like McPhersonville, was named after its founder and developed into a community with a reputation for "culture, refinement and hospitality."³² One of the planters who had summer residences in the village was James Bolan (1784-1865), of Bolan Hall on Euhaw Creek.³³ Bolan was responsible for the building of the Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity, established in 1834.³⁴ Other residents of Grahamville were Charles Jones Colcock (1820-1891), of Bonnie Doon Plantation on the Okatie River, and John H. Screven, of Castle Hill Plantation.³⁵ The other pineland villages in Beaufort District had a similar develop-

²⁶ John R. Todd and Francis M. Hutson, *Prince William's Parish and Plantations* (Richmond, 1935), pp. 94 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 111, 216.

²⁸ Fraser to his mother, McPhersonville, Aug. 24, Oct. 6, 1831; June 11, July 17, Sept. 13, Oct. 17, 1832, in Fraser Papers.

²⁹ Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 11.

³⁰ Todd and Hutson, *Prince William's Parish*, pp. 77, 88, 94.

³¹ *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 73.

³² William H. Courtenay, *Tribute to the Memory of Charles Jones Colcock* (n.p., n.d.), p. 4.

³³ W. L. Glover, contributor, "Bolan Family Records," *SCHGM*, XLI (Oct., 1940), 162-164.

³⁴ [Diocese of South Carolina], *Special Services*, p. 155.

³⁵ Courtenay, *Colcock*, p. 4; Todd and Hutson, *Prince William's Parish*, p. 217.

ment; Gillisonville was the seat of justice for the District after 1840.³⁶

North of Charleston in St. Stephen's Parish another pineland summer retreat was settled by planters of St. Stephen's and Upper St. John's, Berkeley. To test his belief that a residence in the pine-lands would be a protection from the fevers that plagued the planters along the swamps of the Santee, Captain James Sinkler in June, 1793, took his household of twenty persons to a cottage he had built for the purpose and remained there until November, untouched by fever.³⁷ The next year six families, acting on this discovery, formed a settlement which they called Pineville. The heads of these families were John Palmer, Peter Gaillard, John Cordes, Philip Porcher, Samuel Porcher, and Peter Porcher. A resident of Pineville in 1805 declared that it was the happiest spot in South Carolina.³⁸ John C. Calhoun, who spent two days there in 1807, wrote: "I never was in a place where there was more apparent equality and friendship among the inhabitants than in that."³⁹ Speaking of the Pineville Race Meet, Dr. John B. Irving remarked that

the company in attendance is always of so select an order, composed of the gentry of the immediate neighborhood, that it resembles a large united family party, rather than the promiscuous throng . . . it is usual to find . . . on a race ground in other places.⁴⁰

Pineville's first residents had brought their Santee Jockey Club with them. Later they secured an academy, the trustees of which were charged with the additional duty of protecting the pine trees; a chapel of ease to St. Stephen's Parish Church; a library; a market; and a clubhouse.⁴¹ The René Ravenels of Pooshee, St. John's, Berkeley, who, after 1794, had retreated into the pineland instead of

³⁶ *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 117.

³⁷ DuBose and Porcher, *A Contribution to the History of the Huguenots of South Carolina*, p. 81.

³⁸ Samuel DuBose to William DuBose, Nov. 3, 1805, quoted in Yates Snowden, "The Planters of St. Johns," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1889—), No. 21 (1915), p. 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁰ John B. Irving, *The South Carolina Jockey Club* (Charleston, 1857), p. 157.

⁴¹ DuBose and Porcher, *History of the Huguenots*, p. 82; Yates Snowden, *The Bourbon. The Dirge in the Pines* (Walhalla, S. C., 1906), p. 11; Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, p. 35. The Trustees of the Academy were incorporated in 1805; the Library Society, in 1818 (*S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 225, 301).

going to Charleston, began coming to Pineville for the summer in 1816.⁴² By 1819 Pineville had twenty-six houses and a white population that varied annually from 160 to 182 persons.⁴³ In 1832 the white population was 235, of whom 97 were children; and there were 554 Negroes.⁴⁴ Frederick A. Porcher estimated that there were then about sixty houses, each on a lot of at least an acre.⁴⁵ According to Porcher, Pineville lost some of its prestige and population after two bad summers in 1834 and 1836.⁴⁶

The gainer was a new retreat not far away in St. John's, recently settled by Porcher and Dr. Morton Waring. Porcher tells the story of its founding:

Dr. Waring and I had determined to build houses for ourselves on a pine land west of Begin Swamp and about four miles south of Somerton [Porcher's plantation]. A large body of this land was owned by the Macbeths, by Mr. Cain, and by me, and we had a reasonable assurance that nothing would be done . . . which in the common opinion of the times would be calculated, or have a tendency to impair the supposed healthfulness of the place. . . . [My house was] built of logs about forty feet long on the north and south sides and two pens at the ends . . . so that the house when finished and roofed in had three rooms one at each end about fifteen feet by twenty feet and one between them ten feet wide which made a very convenient dining room. By degrees the spaces between the logs were filled in, doors and windows cut, a chimney built, and the very unsightly house became quite comfortable. But I must say that I do not think it creditable to our civilization that persons brought up as we . . . should be satisfied with such houses even as temporary residences. I dated for the sake of jest several letters . . . Pinopolis, and this became the name of the village. . . .⁴⁷

A decade later there were about a dozen houses in Pinopolis.⁴⁸ Porcher's house was no longer standing, but Dr. Waring's had been

⁴² Diary kept by René Ravenel, in H. E. Ravenel, *Ravenel Records*, pp. 228, 247.

⁴³ Dalcho, *Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 330.

⁴⁴ Snowden, "The Planters of St. John's," *loc. cit.*, p. 26, citing unpublished census of the village of Pineville taken in 1832.

⁴⁵ Porcher Memoirs, chap. iii. His father's house was a two-story cottage, fifty feet by twenty-five feet, with two unplastered rooms to a floor, piazzas on the north and south sides, and one chimney that served two fireplaces.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, chaps. iii and iv.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. ix.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. x.

enlarged and was the residence of Henry W. Ravenel. Three other families of Porchers, the Cain family, and Mrs. Cantey, who had left Pineville, were then spending the summer there. There was no church in the village, but service was held once a week in one of the houses by the Reverend Cranmore Wallace, Rector of Lower St. John's Parish, who had a "full congregation." The villagers might also attend service "almost every Sunday" at Whiteville, four miles below Pinopolis, where Mr. Wallace had his summer residence.⁴⁹

Whiteville was a pineland village long used as a summer retreat by Cooper River planters.⁵⁰ Another St. John's summer village in the pineland was Cordesville, numbering among its residents, besides Cordeses and Mazycks, members of the well-known Ball family.⁵¹ Other settlements were The Barrows, formerly Raccoon Hall, and Cainhoy.⁵² The planters of St. James's, Santee, might spend the summer at or near "German's pineland," later named Honey Hill.⁵³

Over in Georgetown District were Brooksville and Plantersville, resorted to by planters from the Pee Dee and Black rivers, and White's Bridge, a resort of Sampit planters.⁵⁴ Plantersville took its name from the rice planters who had their summer houses there, built of logs by slave labor, and their summer seat of worship, a small white frame church, incorporated in 1839 as Prince Frederick Chapel, Pee Dee.⁵⁵ In 1852 the Legislature chartered the Plantersville Society, consisting of "S. C. Ford, S. T. Gaillard, J. Rees Ford, John P. Ford, J. R. Sparkman, George T. Ford, and all others who now or hereafter may own any lot or lots in the summer settlement . . . , generally known as Plantersville."⁵⁶ They were authorized to make and enforce regulations for the management of their own affairs and the preservation of the health and good order of the settlement.

Life in the pineland summer settlements was unique and pic-

⁴⁹ H. W. Ravenel Private Journal, Feb. 4, 1861.

⁵⁰ John B. Irving, *A Day on Cooper River*, enlarged and edited by Louisa Cheves Stoney (2d ed.; Columbia, 1932), p. ix.

⁵¹ Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 31; Writers' Program, *Palmetto Place Names*, p. 38; Deas, *Recollections of the Ball Family*, pp. 139, 143-144.

⁵² Writers' Program, *Palmetto Place Names*, pp. 23, 30.

⁵³ Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Doar, *Rice and Rice Planting*, p. 38.

⁵⁵ Writers' Program, *Palmetto Place Names*, p. 85; *S. C. Guide*, p. 460; *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 75.

⁵⁶ *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 149, 445.

turesque.⁵⁷ These little villages, completely deserted in winter, or sheltering a few lonely families of permanent residents—clergyman, doctor, storekeeper, widows, spinsters—came alive early in May. They were awakened early one morning by the advance guard from the plantations, sent to prepare for the arrival of the planter families. Along the broad, sandy roads which wound through the dark forests of tall longleaf pines into the enclosed yards of the scattered frame cottages came lumbering oxcarts and loaded carry-alls beginning the transfer of the plantation households. Soon signs of activity began to dispel the atmosphere of sleepy abandonment as the Negroes of each household proceeded leisurely and noisily to their accustomed tasks. A fire was kindled in the detached kitchen-house containing the servants' quarters, about which numerous bowlegged and half-naked pickaninnies played. The dwelling house was aired and tidied; its simple furniture, consisting of pine tables, oak chairs and benches, and beds of the "bench-and-boards" variety, was dusted and repaired and augmented by cast-off sideboards and wardrobes and the "indispensable piano" brought from the plantation. The cottage and its few outbuildings—kitchen-house, slatted stable and open vehicle shed, cowpen and padlocked hencoop—were freshly whitewashed; the yard, where no cultivation was allowed, was swept clean. In the fire-stands—square, earth-filled frames mounted on posts, which stood in the front yard—were placed piles of lightwood knots and pine straw.

Thus aroused from its hibernation, the village was soon ready to receive its summer residents. It settled quickly into the routine of the social season that began in earnest with the coming together from isolated plantations of these families with their common culture and their close connections of blood and marriage. One writer has described this season as "a queer jumble of home and watering-place life."

Everybody knew everybody else, and, having little else to do, went to see everybody else every day and at all hours. Sociability became almost oppressive until one got used to it. . . . The routine never altered, but nobody ever tired of it.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ This account is based largely on that in Wilson, *Half Forgotten By-Ways*, pp. 124-132, with additional details from Jeanie Drake, *In Old St. Stephen's* (New York, 1892), pp. 158-159; Gilman, *Recollections*, p. 157; and Louise Haskell Daly, *Alexander Cheves Haskell. The Portrait of a Man* (Norwood, Mass., 1934), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁸ Wilson, *Half Forgotten By-Ways*, p. 130.

The round of activities began almost with the dawn. Having breakfasted at an early hour, most of the men left the village. Some rode, or drove in their sulkies, to their plantations to make the daily, bi- or tri-weekly inspection. Others, who were not riding to their own plantations that day, visited those of friends and neighbors. On occasion all or many of them went hunting. The planters' wives, having supervised or assigned the housekeeping tasks and checked the provisions, which arrived every day from the plantations, were ready by ten o'clock to receive informal calls. In preparation for these calls there were plenty of chairs and benches on the piazza, the chief feature and social center of every cottage, and an adequate supply of fat watermelons kept cool in the dry well or in tubs of water. While the women were busily engaged in domestic chatter at their piazza receptions, the children played "marbles, shinny-ball and other games" in the yard.⁵⁹ Those men who remained in the village, and others who returned from their jaunts early, would gather at the post office or store, hall or clubhouse, to talk shop or to play games. Their topics of conversation dealt with plantation, village, and family matters, and with politics, local, state, and national. There was always the weather; there were crops and livestock and slaves to be compared; there were meat-cutting clubs, patrols, church services, clubhouse smokers, barbecues, hunts, races, tournaments, and political meetings to be arranged. Bowling, billiards, alley-ball, and cards were the usual games.

Thus passed the time until dinner, which came between one and three o'clock and was followed by a village-wide siesta for two or three hours. Then the visiting was resumed and reached its height at tea time, which was just before sundown. The roads were much traveled by individuals and families on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, passing back and forth from cottage to cottage. Every piazza was the scene of much gaiety and hospitality. With the coming of dusk the lightwood knots and pine straw piled high in the fire-stands were ignited and, as they "blazed and spluttered," sent up "tongues of flame" and "great volumes of sooty smoke" in all directions. Around these fires, which served not only as floodlights but also as mosquito magnets, the children played and attendant Negroes hovered. The piazza parties usually ended about eleven, and the guests departed in processions, lighted on their way by link-boys, or in couples preceded by a single servant with a lantern.

⁵⁹ Daly, *Haskell*, p. 3.

For organized evening entertainment the summer residents had cottage card parties, musicales, and dances; occasionally there were more formal and public assemblies and balls. At Pineville there were two or three dances a week, "given by the inhabitants nearly in rotation, with little ceremony and expense, but with great decorum and propriety, and never continue[d] later than eleven o'clock."⁶⁰ Porcher left a more detailed description of the balls at Pineville:

Refreshments of the simplest character were provided; such only as the unusual exercise would fairly warrant. . . . Cards were furnished to keep the old men quiet, and the music was such only as the gentlemen's servants could give.

The company assembled early . . . and the dancing always began with a country-dance. The lady who stood at the head of the column called for the figure, and the old airs of *Ca ira*, *Money-Musk*, *Haste to Wedding*, and *La Belle Catherine* were popular in Pineville, even long after they had been forgotten in the city. . . .

The evening's entertainment was always concluded with the *Boulangier*, a dance whose quiet movement came in appropriately to cool off the revellers before exposure to the chilly air. It was a matter of no small importance to secure a proper partner for this dance, for, by old custom, whoever danced last with a lady had the . . . right to see her home. . . . And as the season drew towards a close, how interesting became those walks! how many words of love were spoken!⁶¹

Closely akin to the pineland villages of the low country as "healthy summer retreats" for the river planters, were what Mills called the "sand hills of the middle country."⁶² Most famed were the so-called High Hills of Santee in Sumter District. This chain of hills, twenty-two miles long and five miles wide at its widest point, stretched northeastward from the Santee River to the Kershaw District line, reaching an elevation of three hundred feet at Stateburg and forming a unique and healthful region of red clay, white sand, and dark green pines.⁶³ Lockwood described this region as "pleasant and salubrious in the extreme," and added:

The healthfulness of these hills is rarely surpassed anywhere, and it is singular that the climate on them is not subject to those

⁶⁰ Ramsay, *History*, II, 293.

⁶¹ Porcher *Memoirs*, chap. viii.

⁶² Mills, *Statistics*, p. 752. The sandhill area is a strip of territory extending along the fall line, from North Carolina to the Savannah River.

⁶³ Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 49; Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, p. 189.

unseasonable, sudden and distressing transitions in the spring and autumn, which so frequently rack the constitution of the valetudinarian . . . in the adjacent low country.⁶⁴

To the High Hills of Santee came towards the close of the eighteenth century wealthy planters from the low country, more than eighty miles away, to build their summer homes.⁶⁵ According to William Capers, whose father came up in 1803, "there was no part of South Carolina more remarkable . . . for elegance and fashion" than the High Hills, where "the elite of the low country" spent the summer.⁶⁶ In 1826 Mills wrote:

There is not a more desirable place for residence, either for health or society, in any part of the state. . . . The planters from below resort here to breathe the salubrious atmosphere of these hills, and many gentlemen habitually reside amongst them, whose affluence and hospitality give to the place a character of ease and dignity.⁶⁷

From Georgetown came Thomas Waties of North Island, Elihu Hall Bay, William Capers, and John Mayrant.⁶⁸ In 1785 Waties built Marden, which became his permanent home.⁶⁹ Capers, who began to come to the Santee Hills in the summer of 1803, sold his rice plantation on the Waccamaw in 1805 and bought a cotton plantation on the Wateree together with a site on the Hills for a permanent residence, which he called Woodland.⁷⁰ Cleland Kinloch of Wehaw Plantation, Goose Creek, built a summer residence, Acton, in 1807, which had three stories and a rotunda.⁷¹ Francis Kinloch Huger, Santee River planter, had his summer home on the Hills.⁷² Sans Souci and Hardscrabble were Huger-Rutledge residences, the former being the summer home of Edward Rutledge,

⁶⁴ Lockwood, *Geography*, pp. 48, 50.

⁶⁵ D. H. Bacot, "The South Carolina Middle Country at the End of the 18th Century," *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, N. C., 1902—), XXIII (Jan., 1924), 59; Harvey T. Cook, *Biography of Richard Furman* (Greenville, S. C., 1913), p. 65; Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (Columbia, 1931), p. 268.

⁶⁶ Wightman, *Capers*, p. 57.

⁶⁷ Mills, *Statistics*, p. 743. Mills is referring especially to Stateburg.

⁶⁸ Thomas S. Sumter, *Stateburg and Its People* [Sumter, S. C., 1926], p. 6; Wightman, *Capers*, pp. 44-45, 57.

⁶⁹ John R. Sumter, *Some Old Stateburg Homes* (Sumter, S. C., 1934), pp. 9-12.

⁷⁰ Wightman, *Capers*, pp. 44-45.

⁷¹ Gregorie, "Cleland Kinloch," *Dictionary of American Biography*, X (1933), 414.

⁷² John G. Van Deusen, "Francis Kinloch Huger," *ibid.*, IX (1932), 344.

the signer, and of his brothers, Chancellor Hugh Rutledge and Governor John Rutledge.⁷³ Other Charlestonians retreating to the Hills in summer were the Caldwells, whose residence was Grafton, and Henry Laurens Pinckney, who lived at Oakland.⁷⁴ The DeVeauxs of St. Stephen's and St. John's spent their summers at The Ruins, former home of the Mayrants.⁷⁵

Many of these summer residences were in the vicinity of Stateburg. Founded in 1783 by General Sumter, Stateburg was a post town on the old King's Highway from Charleston to the up country, and the seat of Claremont County (later absorbed in Sumter District).⁷⁶ By 1820 it was a village of eight houses, two stores, three or four shops, two taverns, and an Episcopal Church.⁷⁷ This church, established in 1788 as the Claremont Episcopal Church, possessed an organ and served Stateburg until 1850, when the Church of the Holy Cross, a Gothic structure of buff clay (*pisé de terre*) construction, was built.⁷⁸ Near the village was the High Hills Baptist Church, organized in 1770.⁷⁹ For entertainment, there were, besides the two taverns, a bowling alley and a race track.⁸⁰ Stateburg's educational institutions in 1832 were "an academy of considerable reputation, a circulating library and an agricultural society."⁸¹ Its population at that time was said to vary from 100 to 250.

Below Stateburg, in the Parish of St. Mark's, Clarendon, were Manchester, then a thriving trading center and resort town for the planters on the upper Santee and lower Wateree,⁸² and Summerton, much resorted to in the years just before 1860.⁸³ Above Stateburg, in Kershaw District, was Camden with its suburbs, where resorted the planters of the upper Wateree. The principal suburb of Cam-

⁷³ Sumter, *Stateburg*, pp. 23-25; Sumter, *Stateburg Homes*, p. 8.

⁷⁴ Sumter, *Stateburg*, pp. 23-25.

⁷⁵ Josie Platt Parler, *The Past Blows By* (Sumter, S. C. [1939]), p. 30.

⁷⁶ Sumter, *Stateburg*, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Mills, *Statistics*, pp. 743, 746.

⁷⁸ Parler, *The Past Blows By*, p. 32; Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, p. 19.

⁷⁹ *S. C. Guide*, p. 374.

⁸⁰ Parler, *The Past Blows By*, p. 32.

⁸¹ Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 49. The Claremont Educational Society at Stateburg had been chartered in 1789, and the Claremont Library Society in 1814 (*S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 154, 270).

⁸² Parler, *The Past Blows By*, p. 18; Edwin J. Scott, *Random Recollections of a Long Life, 1806-1876* (Columbia, 1884), pp. 11-13.

⁸³ Jones and Mills, eds., *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850*, p. 828.

den was Kirkwood, established as a summer retreat in 1818.⁸⁴ Here, about 1830, Mrs. Anne Royall found "a number of cool summer cottages," forming a village with a regular street.⁸⁵ Somewhat farther from Camden was Longtown, in Fairfield District.⁸⁶ Outside Columbia, in Richland District, were the sandhill residences of Congaree planters and state officials.⁸⁷

To the southwest of the Stateburg-Camden-Columbia triangle, there developed in the later ante-bellum period a settlement destined to become the most prominent of the sandhill resorts. Planned and surveyed in 1832, the new town was named for William Aiken, President of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, which was building a railroad from Charleston to Hamburg.⁸⁸ Passenger service between Charleston and Aiken, a distance of 120 miles, was inaugurated on October 3, 1833, when a train bearing the governor of South Carolina and his suite left Charleston at 5:45 A.M. and arrived at Aiken at 5 P.M.⁸⁹ The town was actually laid out by the Railroad Company engineers in the fall of 1834 and incorporated December 19, 1835.⁹⁰ In his *Geography of South Carolina* (1843), Simms described Aiken as "a place of considerable and increasing importance." He continued:

It is remarkable for its health, its bracing, dry atmosphere, which makes it a place of retreat for invalids. Being in the line of railroad, intersected by stage routes for the mountains, it is almost equally easy of access from Charleston, Augusta and Greenville. It possesses a number of fine dwelling-houses, several churches, several excellently kept taverns, and is particularly famous for its Coker

⁸⁴ *S. C. Guide*, p. 179.

⁸⁵ Mrs. Anne Royall, *Southern Tour, or Second Series of the Black Book* (3 vols.; Washington, 1830-1831), II, 43.

⁸⁶ Mills, *Statistics*, p. 540.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 710; James Silk Buckingham, *Slave States of America* (2 vols.; London, 1842), II, 34; Jane Kealhofer Simons, *A Guide to Columbia, South Carolina's Capital City*, edited by Margaret Babcock Meriwether and the Columbia Sesquicentennial Historical Marker Committee (Columbia, 1939), p. 37.

⁸⁸ Harry Worcester Smith, *Life and Sport in Aiken and Those Who Made It* (New York, 1935), p. 1; *S. C. Guide*, p. 160. Hamburg was on the Savannah River opposite Augusta, Georgia.

⁸⁹ Samuel M. Derrick, *Centennial History of the South Carolina Railroad* (Columbia, 1930), p. 58.

⁹⁰ Laurie E. Croft, "Early History of Aiken," in [City of Aiken], *Centennial Celebration of the Founding of Aiken* (Aiken, S. C., 1935), pages not numbered; *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 530. Its limits were described as being at a distance of one mile in every direction from the bridge at the railroad depository.

Spring, a fountain of delicious water, which is equally cold and unfailling.⁹¹

As early as September 6, 1833, the editor of the *Charleston Courier* had hoped for the development at Coker Spring of a summer watering place for Charlestonians that would be not only accessible but fashionable as well.

A resort from the first, Aiken soon had its hotels for tourists. The earliest are said to have been kept by Marsh, Oliver, and Mrs. Schwartz.⁹² In the *Charleston Courier* of June 14, 1845, Mrs. Schwartz announced that she had recently added to her house a double piazza two hundred feet long to serve as a promenade. Two other Aiken hosts were soliciting patronage at this time. F. Wesner of the Aiken Hotel informed "travelers and invalids in search of a pleasant and healthy summer retreat" that his house, "situated upon the most commanding site in the town," was open and offered such features as warm and cold baths and a promenade ground.⁹³ John Hobson advertised the opening of the Planters Hotel, located opposite the railroad near the inclined plane; he stressed the commanding view from its wide piazzas.⁹⁴ Not all of Aiken's early summer visitors resorted to its hotels. Some, particularly the planter families, had their own residences or were entertained at the homes of their friends.

Near Aiken was Kalmia Village, a Charleston summer colony that had sprung up on the lands of William Gregg.⁹⁵ Gregg, who owned five thousand acres, is said to have given to several of his friends fifty-acre tracts, on which they built summer homes. Among the first to build were J. G. O. Wilkinson, Ker Boyce, the merchant prince, and Judge James Parsons Carroll. Other residents were Richard Yeadon, editor and Unionist, and the Legarés. The latter family, it is said, came to Aiken every summer, taking four or five days to drive up from Charleston.⁹⁶ James Matthewes Legaré, the

⁹¹ P. 36. One of the churches mentioned by Simms was the Baptist Church, chartered in 1839 (*S. C. Statutes*, XI, 74). Another was St. Thaddeus' Episcopal Church, established in 1842 and consecrated in 1843 ([Diocese of South Carolina], *Special Services*, p. 158; *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 287).

⁹² Croft, "Early History of Aiken," *loc. cit.*, pages not numbered.

⁹³ *Charleston Courier*, June 7, 1845.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1845.

⁹⁵ Smith, *Life and Sport in Aiken*, p. 2; *S. C. Guide*, pp. 162, 345; Broadus Mitchell, *William Gregg, Factory Master of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1928), pp. 86-87.

⁹⁶ Smith, *Life and Sport in Aiken*, p. 4.

poet, and John D. Legaré, litterateur and promoter, were both sojourners at Aiken. Judge Carroll's "mansion" was a "one-story frame house" built of hand-hewn timbers of heart pine. Gregg, who had started his Graniteville mill project in 1845, was then living in Charleston; but he was planning a summer residence on Kalmia Hill. Begun in 1846 or 1847, this house was a large, nearly square frame structure, the round columns of its front portico reaching to the top of the second story. Without and within, it was decorated and embellished by the handiwork of ironworkers, painters, and woodcarvers from abroad. As was true of all these estates, the grounds were elaborately landscaped with broad terraces and great trees—live oak, cedar, and holly. Here the Greggs spent the summers until 1854, when Kalmia became their permanent home.

In 1853 the distinguished botanist, Henry W. Ravenel, of North Hampton, St. John's, Berkeley, became a permanent resident of Aiken.⁹⁷ His home, near the village, was called Hampton Hill. Isaac Jenkins Mikell, Edisto Island planter, also had a place at Aiken.⁹⁸ Others came only for short stays. J. B. Grimbail, in May, 1859, planned a visit to Aiken for his health. Since he "did not like the hotel on account of the desperate cases of sickness which were apt to be there," he wrote to a friend, Peronneau Finley, who was living in Aiken, to get him accommodations in a private boarding house. Finley replied by inviting Grimbail to stay with him. Grimbail accepted and enjoyed an "exceedingly pleasant visit" with his hospitable host and hostess and some slight improvement in health. Although he remarked that the improvement had not been as great as he had hoped, he concluded: "I am certainly less distressed than I was in Charleston."⁹⁹ On June 6, 1860, H. W. Ravenel wrote in his Journal: "Had a visit this morning from Alex^r. Mazyck & T. W. Porcher. The latter has rented Capt. Turner's house for the summer & has come up to see about it." Later (July 15) he noted that his family had seen at church Dr. Lucas and his wife, Mrs. Thomas Porcher, and Mr. and Mrs. Ladson, who had all come up to spend the summer at Aiken.¹⁰⁰

In going to "the Pine" the low-country planters not only discovered healthful summer retreats near their plantations, but also

⁹⁷ H. W. Ravenel Private Journal; H. E. Ravenel, *Ravenel Records*, p. 62; Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, p. 203.

⁹⁸ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, IV, 881.

⁹⁹ Grimbail Diary, XII, 66-68.

¹⁰⁰ H. W. Ravenel Private Journal.

began to penetrate into the back country and to leave their mark upon it. They ended by making much of the "middle country" their own, so that there remained, in some respects, only low country and up country.

CHAPTER IV

DISCOVERING THE UP COUNTRY

Low-country planters early discovered the up country, and, as Ramsay pointed out in 1808, finding that it possessed "the natural requisites of health and longevity,"¹ they began to resort during the "sickly season" to such Piedmont villages as Pendleton, Greenville, Spartanburg, and Winnsboro. In or near Pendleton, founded in 1790 as the seat of Pendleton District and named after Judge Henry Pendleton of Charleston,² some of these low-countrymen bought farms or country estates and became regular summer sojourners and even permanent residents. The families of Dr. Hall, Dr. Thomas L. Dart, Mrs. McGregor, and Nicholas Bishop came to Pendleton from Charleston in 1800.³ In 1807 John Laurens North, a law partner of Langdon Cheves in Charleston, and Mrs. North drove up to Pendleton in their chaise and settled at Rusticello, a farm which North had purchased.⁴ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, son of Thomas Pinckney of St. James's, Santee, built a house on his farm, Woodburn, near Pendleton about 1810.⁵ His brother, Thomas Pinckney, Jr., who had a farm, Altamont, on the west side of Eighteen Mile Creek,⁶ was one of the charter members of the Pendleton Farmers' Society, organized in 1815.⁷ Two other charter members were Charles Gaillard of Charleston⁸ and Benjamin Savage Smith, a Pee Dee planter whose estate at Pendleton was Rivoli, adjoining his brother-in-law's Rusticello.⁹

In 1826 Francis Kinloch Huger, of Santee and Stateburg, moved up to Pendleton, where his father-in-law, Thomas Pinckney, Sr.,

¹ Ramsay, *History*, II, 306.

² *S. C. Guide*, p. 443; R. W. Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District* (Anderson, S. C., 1913), p. 11.

³ Simpson, *Old Pendleton District*, pp. 75-76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73; The Reminiscences of Sarah Edith Ann Smith Mills (manuscript, University of South Carolina Library), pages not numbered. Cited hereinafter as Mills Reminiscences.

⁵ *S. C. Guide*, p. 445.

⁶ Charleston County, Court of Probate, Will Book I & J, 225.

⁷ Simpson, *Old Pendleton District*, p. 23; *S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 283.

⁸ Simpson, *Old Pendleton District*, pp. 23, 212.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74; Mills Reminiscences.

owned Toxaway Plantation.¹⁰ At this time several low-country boys attended the Pendleton Male Academy, founded in 1825 and kept by Dr. Henry K. McClintock. Among them were Cleland Kinloch Huger;¹¹ Peter Charles Gaillard, son of James Gaillard, of Walnut Grove, St. John's, Berkeley;¹² William Henry Drayton Gaillard, son of Peter Gaillard, of St. John's;¹³ and Joseph Galuchat, of Charleston.¹⁴ A frequent visitor to the District was Mrs. Floride Bonneau Colhoun, who was said to have traveled in state from her rice plantation on Cooper River.¹⁵ Young Alwyn Ball, scion of the Balls of Cooper River, his wife, and his brother Elias visited Pendleton in September and October, 1826.¹⁶ Two years later, G. R. Lewis advertised as a summer residence his farm "situated about one mile from the village of Pendleton, where there are two excellent Academies, male and female; two churches; a flourishing village;—and a society not surpassed for intelligence, refinement and hospitality in the interior of our State."¹⁷ In 1833, Barnard Elliott Bee, of Woodstock, St. James's, Goose Creek, bought the General Hamilton place and became a resident of Pendleton. He was a neighbor of Mrs. Langdon Cheves, who wrote, November 28:

We are getting Winter, but it is now delightful Weather. Almost all our acquaintances have gone down . . . yet there are a few families who remain all the year. . . . It is a very friendly neighborhood. I have just received a basket of Turnips from Mrs. North & yesterday a dish of sausages from another friend & this is the custom here.¹⁸

With the spring the permanent residents welcomed the coming of new life to the village. Mrs. Cheves reported, May 3, 1834, the

¹⁰ Thomas Tileston Wells, *The Hugers of South Carolina* (New York, 1931), p. 12. In a codicil to his will, dated April 20, 1822, Pinckney had designated this place for his daughter Harriott (d. 1824), Huger's wife (Charleston County, Court of Probate, Will Book G, 321).

¹¹ *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, No. 3 (1897), p. 19.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 5 (1897), p. 98.

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 3 (1897), p. 8.

¹⁴ *Pendleton Messenger*, June 28, 1826.

¹⁵ Col. Starke's Account in Jamieson, ed., "Calhoun Correspondence," *American Historical Association Report*, 1899, II, 83. Her late husband, U. S. Senator John Ewing Colhoun, had acquired an estate in Pendleton District.

¹⁶ Elias O. Ball to John Ball, Sept. 19 and Oct. 19, 1826, Ball Papers.

¹⁷ *Pendleton Messenger*, May 13, 1829.

¹⁸ M. E. Cheves [Mrs. Langdon Cheves] to her aunt [Mrs. Anne Heatley Lovell], Nov. 28, 1833, Mrs. Langdon Cheves Letters (transcribed extracts, Charleston Library Society).

recent opening of a "fine shop" by a New Yorker, who displayed goods received in eight days from New York and priced "nearly as low as in King Street, Charleston."¹⁹ Noted also was the return of "friends from below." To Woodburn came the Cotesworth Pinckneys; to Micassa, the Stewarts; and to Ashtabula, the Gibbsses.²⁰ The Smiths of Rivoli, now permanent residents, had as their summer neighbors the Edward Harlestons of Charleston.²¹ The presence of these low-country families added much to the society and culture of the little up-country trading center.²² Pendleton's prestige was also enhanced by the residence of John C. Calhoun at near-by Fort Hill.²³

George W. Featherstonhaugh, the English traveler who visited Pendleton in 1836, recorded, August 20:

This was a beautiful, but most surprisingly hot morning. After breakfast I went in the carriage with the ladies to the Episcopal Church at Pendleton, a neat temple prettily situated in a shady grove. The congregation was numerous, and principally composed of well-dressed and very genteel people. Eight or ten nice-looking carriages were drawn up, and the scene reminded me of an English country church in a good neighbourhood. The service was very appropriately performed, and I had the greatest satisfaction in assisting at it.²⁴

The church mentioned by Featherstonhaugh, St. Paul's, had grown out of the efforts of local Episcopalians, including the low-country planters, who had formed a congregation about 1815 and held services in the Farmers' Society Hall with the ministrations of a young

¹⁹ *Idem to idem*, May 3 [1834], *ibid.*

²⁰ The heads of the two last-named families were physicians, Dr. Stewart coming from Charleston and Dr. Gibbs from Beaufort District (Simpson, *Old Pendleton District*, p. 87).

²¹ Mills Reminiscences. The Harlestons lived on the Bruce's Ford Road below Rivoli.

²² Since 1826, when Pendleton District was divided into Anderson and Pickens districts, Pendleton had ceased to be the seat of justice (*S. C. Statutes*, VI, 289, 341). The village was incorporated in 1832, its limits being set at one mile in every direction from the Farmers' Hall (*ibid.*, VI, 470).

²³ Calhoun came to Fort Hill, then called Clergy Hall, in 1825 and resided there from then on when not in Washington (Meigs, *Calhoun*, I, 282). He first rented and later (1836) purchased the estate, which his mother-in-law had acquired in 1819 and deeded to her son, John Ewing Colhoun (Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun: Nationalist, 1782-1828* [Indianapolis, 1944], pp. 186, 342).

²⁴ George W. Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnay Sotor* (2 vols.; London, 1847), II, 269.

missioner from Charleston sent by the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina.²⁵ The church building, designed by one Morningstar and constructed of materials hauled in oxcarts from Augusta, was completed and consecrated in 1822. At the time of Featherstonhaugh's visit the Rector was the Reverend W. T. Potter, who went down to his place in Beaufort every winter when the church was closed;²⁶ the churchgoers of Pendleton had to attend the Presbyterian Church, built about 1824.²⁷ Besides its churches, its academies, its library societies and its Farmers' Society, Pendleton also had a jockey club, chartered in 1835.²⁸

In the years that followed more low-country people became residents of old Pendleton District. There were the Prioleaus and Adgers of Boscobel;²⁹ the Carters of Woodlawn;³⁰ the Stephen Mazyck Wilsons, who about 1850 settled on Three and Twenty Creek;³¹ Colonel William Alston Hayne, whose place was Flat Rock;³² and H. E. Ravenel, who in 1855 became the owner of Seneca.³³ Pendleton, in time, also sought and provided for tourists. J. W. Cobb, the proprietor of the Blue Ridge House, advertised in the spring of 1860 that "his house will be provided with everything necessary for a well-kept house, both from the sea board markets and surrounding country," and that "every attention will be paid to his guests to render their sojourn agreeable." Turning from his house to its environment, he declared:

The good society of Pendleton Village—the proverbial good health of its inhabitants—its fine cool water and bracing atmosphere—its proximity to the mountains and its accessibility by Rail Road, all con-

²⁵ Louise Ayer Vandiver, *Traditions and History of Anderson County* (Atlanta, 1928), p. 56.

²⁶ Mills Reminiscences.

²⁷ The Presbyterian Congregation stemmed from the Old Stone Meeting House (Hopewell-on-Keowee), which had been organized as early as 1785 (Simpson, *Old Pendleton District*, pp. 33-34; A. G. Holmes, comp., *Points of Historic Interest, Pendleton and Clemson College* [n. p., n. d.] pages not numbered). Both of Pendleton's churches were incorporated in 1823 (*S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 332, 338).

²⁸ *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 534.

²⁹ Holmes, comp., *Points of Historic Interest*.

³⁰ Mary Cherry Doyle, *Historic Oconee in South Carolina* (Seneca, S. C., 1935), pp. 40-41.

³¹ Simpson, *Old Pendleton District*, p. 75.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³³ H. E. Ravenel, *Ravenel Records*, p. 65.

tribute to make it one of the best summer resorts in the upper country.³⁴

From Pendleton a road led to Greenville, destined to progress long after Pendleton's prestige had waned. Greenville District was formed in 1784; in that year Judge Pendleton of Charleston acquired a farm in the District and probably sojourned there in summer until his death four years later.³⁵ Greenville Court House grew up around Pleasantburg, founded in 1797 by Colonel Lemuel J. Alston, who, at the end of a broad avenue of sycamore trees six hundred yards from the village, built a mansion which Edward Hooker described in 1806 as "the most beautiful I have seen in South Carolina."³⁶ Pleasantburg had five hundred inhabitants in 1826 when Mills wrote:

The village . . . is the resort of much company in the summer, and several respectable and wealthy families have located themselves here on account of the salubrity of the climate. These have induced a degree of improvement which promises to make Greenville one of the most considerable villages of the state. It has been preferred as a residence to Pendleton, perhaps on account of its not being affected so immediately by the cold damps of the mountains.³⁷

Among those who had summer retreats at Greenville were two former governors from the low country, Alston and Middleton. The home plantation of Henry Middleton was Middleton Place on the Ashley, St. George's Parish, Colleton District. Joseph Alston, brother of the founder of Pleasantburg, was the owner of The Oaks, All Saints, Waccamaw, in Georgetown District. Another low-countryman associated with Greenville was Joel R. Poinsett, of Charleston, who is said to have designed the brick courthouse that in 1823 replaced the old wooden building of 1797.³⁸ After his marriage in 1833 to Mrs. Mary Izard Pringle, who inherited from her father, Ralph Izard, the rice plantation of Casa Blanca on Pee Dee, George-

³⁴ Pickens Court House *Keowee Courier*, May 15, 1860.

³⁵ O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, I, 33 n.; Mary C. Simms Oliphant, "The Genesis of an Up-Country Town," *South Carolina Historical Association Proceedings* (Columbia, 1931—), 1933, p. 52.

³⁶ *S. C. Guide*, p. 244; "Diary of Edward Hooker," in *American Historical Association Report*, 1896, Part I, p. 898.

³⁷ Mills, *Statistics*, p. 573.

³⁸ J. M. Richardson, *History of Greenville County* (Atlanta, 1930), p. 64.

town District, Poinsett purchased a farm near Greenville.³⁹ This farm, called The Homestead, when landscaped, remodeled, and furnished by Poinsett's own skill and taste and adorned with his books, paintings, and sculpture, became a most comfortable and attractive summer residence. Here the Poinsetts retreated during the "sickly season" on the plantation.⁴⁰ Still others from the low country who had summer homes in or near the village were the Misses Anna and Charlotte Alston, Colonel William Alston, and Colonel B. H. Wilson (whose place was Chestnut Hill), all from Georgetown; and Mrs. Susan B. McCall, who lived on Pendleton Road, T. O. Lowndes, Mrs. Henry Faber, and C. G. Memminger, of Charleston.⁴¹

Greenville was on the road to becoming a fashionable and popular resort. Lockwood declared in 1832 that "the salubrity of the atmosphere, the grand and beautiful scenery in the vicinity, have rendered this charming place the resort of wealth and fashion through the summer months."⁴² James Silk Buckingham, who visited Greenville in 1839 and rode in the stage with two "frank and intelligent" low-country planters making their annual migration thither, wrote that the village

has acquired an established reputation; and every year more and more country villas are built by wealthy people from the low-country; while visitors stop here in great numbers on their way up to the Springs of North Carolina and Virginia; and still more on their return from the mountains to the coast.⁴³

³⁹ Langdon Cheves, "Izard of South Carolina," *SCHGM*, II (July, 1901), 237; J. Fred Rippy, *Joel Roberts Poinsett, Versatile American* (Durham, N. C., 1935), pp. 221-222.

⁴⁰ See letters from Poinsett at Greenville to his friend Gouverneur Kemble, of Cold Spring, N. Y., summer seasons, 1841-1849, in Grace E. Heilman and Bernard S. Levin, eds., *Calendar of Joel R. Poinsett Papers in the Henry D. Gilpin Collection* (Philadelphia, 1941); and entries in the summers of 1841, 1844, 1845, and 1850 in the Benjamin F. Perry Diary, 1832-1863; 2 vols. (University of North Carolina Library). In the last year or so of his life, Poinsett, influenced by the physical inaccessibility of the Greenville farm, by his gradual political isolation in South Carolina, and by his wife's preference for Northern travel in the summer, thought of selling The Homestead (Poinsett to Kemble, March 23, 1849, March 25, 1850, *Calendar of Poinsett Papers*, pp. 223-224, 229-230).

⁴¹ S. S. Crittenden, *The Greenville Century Book* (Greenville, 1903), pp. 42-43; *Charleston Daily Courier*, Sept. 14 and 27, 1855; J. C. Faber to his sister (Mrs. C. M. Smith), July 2, 1841, E. P. Smith Family Papers (University of South Carolina Library); Oliphant, "The Genesis of an Up-Country Town," *loc. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴² Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 107.

⁴³ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 175, 177.

These summer visitors, including some low-country planters who did not have their own residences, were guests of their relatives and friends or patrons of the local public houses. Alwyn and Elias Ball spent the summer of 1826 in Greenville and vicinity instead of going North.⁴⁴ Mrs. L. A. Taveau stopped there on her way to and from Buncombe in the summers of 1838 and 1839.⁴⁵ F. A. Porcher on one occasion spent several weeks at Greenville in company with John Wilkes and Andrew Johnston of Charleston.⁴⁶ Others there at the time were Frank Cordes and Major Warley, of St. John's, and Benjamin Allston, of All Saints. William J. Grayson of Beaufort visited his friend Poinsett.⁴⁷ In July, 1856, J. B. Grimball, returning to Charleston from Buncombe, stayed several days with T. O. Lowndes.⁴⁸

The first resort hotel at Greenville was opened by Edmund Waddell, who about 1815 rented the L. J. Alston homestead, then owned by Vardry McBee.⁴⁹ Old Squire Waddell, honest, capable, and unlettered, a natural-born host, was ably assisted by his efficient wife. This house, which remained open to the public until 1835, when McBee made it his home,⁵⁰ was soon imitated by several hotels and boarding houses, including those of Captain David Long and Blackmon Ligon. To these hostelries was added in 1824 the Mansion House, built by Colonel William Toney, estimated to have been Greenville's wealthiest citizen.⁵¹ Designed "to excel any house in the upper part of the State in appearance and accommodation for the traveling public," the new hotel had heart-pine floors, a tin roof, a circular staircase of rare workmanship, and a parlor as deep as the building itself, requiring two fireplaces. Spacious accommodations, artistic appointments, and excellent fare made the Mansion House popular from the start, and it soon became the fashionable center of Greenville's "gay but cultured society."⁵² Here stopped the aristocratic summer visitors from the low country, who came into the village in little cavalcades of carriages, baggage wagons, and out-riders, often augmented by several families traveling together; or

⁴⁴ E. O. Ball to John Ball, June 1 and 20, 1826, Ball Papers.

⁴⁵ Correspondence between Mrs. Taveau and her son, A. L. Taveau, Aug. and Sept., 1838, and Sept., 1839, Taveau Papers.

⁴⁶ Porcher Memoirs, chap. x.

⁴⁷ Rippey, *Poinsett*, p. 222.

⁴⁸ Grimball Diary, XI, 162.

⁴⁹ Richardson, *Greenville County*, p. 62; Crittenden, *Century Book*, p. 27.

⁵⁰ *S. C. Guide*, p. 244.

⁵¹ Crittenden, *Century Book*, p. 34.

⁵² Richardson, *Greenville County*, p. 63.

who arrived in one of the triweekly stages from Columbia, Augusta, or Asheville that dashed down Main Street to the sound of horns and "turned with a grand sweep in front of the Mansion House," with little regard for the many loaded carts and herds of livestock whose drovers put up at the Kentucky and Tennessee Inn.⁵³ In 1830 the Mansion House was bought for ten thousand dollars by Dr. John Crittenden, owner of the Greenville Hotel across the street; the following spring he announced that he had combined the two houses and was fitting up the former "for the reception of Families and others whom health, or pleasure, may induce to spend the ensuing summer in Greenville."⁵⁴ Still another Greenville hotel was the Goodlett House, whose proprietor, R. P. Goodlett, announced in 1858 that his house now had fifty rooms.⁵⁵

The low-country visitors not only helped to secure for Greenville good roads, stage lines, and public houses; they also assisted in the organization of the village's first church, the congregation of St. James's Episcopal Mission, formed in 1821 and meeting in private homes.⁵⁶ Later the mission became Christ Church, incorporated, December 18, 1829.⁵⁷ The first rector (1835-1846) was the Reverend Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of the Church of St. James, Santee.⁵⁸ In 1854 a new brick building, said to have been designed by Poinsett, was consecrated.⁵⁹ The second church in Greenville was built by the Baptists in 1826 on land given by Vardry McBee.

By 1831, when the village was incorporated, Greenville had absorbed Pleasantburg; and the county seat resort began to grow into an industrial and educational center.⁶⁰ This development was pro-

⁵³ Crittenden, *Century Book*, p. 45.

⁵⁴ *Columbia Southern Times and State Gazette*, April 15, 1831. Dr. Crittenden, who is said to have made his purchase money in the five years that he owned the Mansion House, sold it in 1835 for \$10,500 to John T. Coleman, who was succeeded as proprietor by Messrs. Swandale and Irwin (Crittenden, *Century Book*, p. 45).

⁵⁵ *Charleston Courier*, June 7, 1858.

⁵⁶ Richardson, *Greenville County*, p. 64.

⁵⁷ *S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 366.

⁵⁸ [Diocese of South Carolina], *Special Services*, p. 152; text of memorial tablet in Grace Church, Charleston, quoted in *SCHGM*, I (Jan., 1900), 104.

⁵⁹ *S. C. Guide*, p. 248. In 1847 Poinsett wrote to a New York friend that he had to build a small church at Greenville and requested him to send Upjohn's book of plans (Poinsett to Kemble, May 3, 1847, *Calendar of Poinsett Papers*, p. 214). The members, he reported later, were impatiently waiting to tear down the old church (*idem to idem*, Aug. 25, 1847, *ibid.*).

⁶⁰ *S. C. Guide*, p. 244; *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 434. The Trustees of the Greenville Academy had been incorporated as early as 1820 (*S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 312), and the Greenville Library Society was chartered in 1839 (*ibid.*, XI, 73).

moted by Vardry McBee, who had built one of the first cotton mills on the Reedy River and was to bring to Greenville in 1851 Furman University and two years later the railroad. An advertisement for a teacher to take charge of the Male Academy in 1843 stated that the village had eleven hundred inhabitants, three well-attended churches, about a dozen stores, "and a goodly number of industrious mechanics."⁶¹

Greenville's permanent residents did not always altogether approve of some of the village's summer visitors. For example, Benjamin F. Perry, the Unionist lawyer who a few years later was to enjoy a visit from the Poinsetts, wrote in his diary on August 18, 1836:

We have had a good deal of company here this summer but not much company as would interest a man of sense and reading—They all seem disposed to gratify their animal propensities without cultivating their interests at all, if they have any to cultivate—drinking, eating, gambling & whoreing is the summit of their ambition. . . .⁶²

There were some distinguished characters among the summer visitors, as has been noted; others were notorious or merely eccentric. F. A. Porcher described some that he found there, among them Benjamin Allston of Georgetown, an annual summer sojourner, who from an overseer "had become one of the richest rice planters on the Waccamaw." This keen but kindly old man, whose "conversation was that of an utterly uneducated man" and whose "language was like a negro's not only in pronunciation but even in tone," was "rather deaf but very fond of company."

Another habitué of Greenville and vicinity was Major Warley, a planter from St. John's, Berkeley, whom Porcher considered "a happy illustration of a life spent in such places of summer resort." The Major, who stayed at a hotel, "shifted his seat from one side of the street to the other to enjoy the shade" and seemed to spend the whole summer "anxiously looking for the Autumn when he might return to a place where occupation would dispel ennui." Unlike Allston, he was "apparently indifferent whether he had company or not"; but "when he could find whist players, he would devote the whole day and sometimes the whole night to cards." Porcher's cousin, Frank Cordes, who had inherited "great wealth" which he

⁶¹ Greenville *Mountaineer*, Nov. 17, 1843, quoted in Crittenden, *Century Book*, p. 32.

⁶² Perry Diary, I, Aug. 18, 1836.

at first squandered and later hoarded "for his own enjoyment," lorded it over the inferiors who alone could associate with a man of his "violent humour" and, while expressing "the greatest abhorrence of marriage," kept a faithless mistress "because she had borne him a daughter who had entwined herself about his affections."⁶³

During the 1830's Spartanburg, in the adjoining district, became a resort for low-country people. A seat of justice since 1785, Spartanburg was incorporated in 1831; like Greenville, it grew into an industrial and educational as well as a political and social center.⁶⁴ Cotton mills and colleges added to its importance and reputation.⁶⁵ "The pleasant little town," declared a writer in 1859, "is so celebrated for the number of her literary institutions and the refinement of her citizens, that some have applied to her the name of 'Athens of Carolina.'"⁶⁶ Spartanburg's leading hotel was first the Walker House, patronized by the low-country visitors, including the family of William Gilmore Simms; and later the elegant Palmetto House, built in 1850 by Junius Thompson.⁶⁷ Although not so well served by arteries of communication and means of transportation as Greenville, Spartanburg had stage lines, such as the one which in July, 1849, announced that its stages would leave Columbia for Spartanburg every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at seven o'clock in the morning.⁶⁸ After 1851 hacks connected Spartanburg and its hotels with the Laurens and the Union railroads by way of the several mineral springs of the District.⁶⁹

Both education and health attracted low-country visitors and residents to Winnsboro.⁷⁰ Named for Colonel Richard Winn, its founder, and incorporated in 1785, Winnsboro was the seat of Fairfield District on the edge of the Piedmont.⁷¹ Here was Mt. Zion

⁶³ Porcher Memoirs, chap. x.

⁶⁴ *S. C. Guide*, p. 260; *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 440.

⁶⁵ Wofford College, a Methodist institution for men, was chartered in 1851, and the Spartanburg Female College, three years later (*S. C. Statutes*, XII, 99, 344).

⁶⁶ Henry E. Colton, *Mountain Scenery* (Raleigh, 1859), p. 37.

⁶⁷ WPA, Writers' Program, *History of Spartanburg County* (Spartanburg, 1940), pp. 63-64, 111. The commercial hotel of the day was R. C. Poole's Mansion House.

⁶⁸ *Columbia Daily Telegraph*, July 18, 1849.

⁶⁹ Sumterville *Black River Watchman*, Aug. 14, 1852; *Sumter Watchman*, June 24, 1857; Writers' Program, *Spartanburg County*, p. 123.

⁷⁰ Catherine Theus Obear, *Through the Years in Old Winnsboro* (Columbia, 1940), p. xvi.

⁷¹ *S. C. Guide*, p. 316; *S. C. Statutes*, IV, 652. The town was enlarged in 1787 and reincorporated in 1832 (*Statutes*, V, 11; VI, 458).

College, founded in 1785 by the Mt. Zion Society, which was organized in Charleston in 1777.⁷² William Porcher DuBose in his "Recollections of Mt. Zion School" suggested the connection between Winnsboro and the low country:

About 1836, the year of my birth, several low-country families moved, in search of health, from St. John's and St. Stephen's parishes to the neighborhood of Winnsboro. This drew a large and steady patronage to Mt. Zion from their old communities. By the time I was old enough for school Mt. Zion was largely a low-country institution. The long vacation was in the winter to suit this constituency. We spent December and January on the coast, and were at school without break the rest of the year.⁷³

Among the low-country families that moved to the neighborhood of Winnsboro was that of David Gaillard, of St. John's, who in 1835 came up with his wife, the former Louise Caroline DuBose, of Pineville, and their five children.⁷⁴ Thomases, Porchers, Cains, and Ravenels spent the summer at Winnsboro.⁷⁵ During the forties the Hotel, a large brick building "on the north side of the Town Clock," was often filled with boarders; these boarders "formed the nucleus" of the congregation of the Reverend Josiah Obear, an Episcopal clergyman, who was sent to Winnsboro in May, 1841, and held services in the hotel parlor until a church was built.⁷⁶

From the Piedmont villages the low-country migrants and travelers ventured into the mountains, where they found new sites for summer residences, new resorts to be patronized or developed, and new scenery that was a revelation to them. The first main route of travel was the Saluda Gap Road, which led over the mountains to Buncombe County, North Carolina. This road, a part of the state road from Charleston to Columbia and Greenville, was planned by the Board of Public Works, organized in 1819 with Joel R. Poinsett as chairman and Robert Mills as chief engineer, and was completed under the supervision of Abram Blanding in the years following 1825 as a result of the clamor of the up-country residents

⁷² S. W. Nicholson, A. M. Faucette, and R. W. Baxter, *Fairfield County, Economic and Social* (Columbia, 1924), p. 8. The Society was chartered Feb. 13, 1777 (*S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 134). See Minutes and Other Records of the Mt. Zion Society (transcripts, University of South Carolina Library).

⁷³ *The Educational* (Columbia, March, 1902), I, 256.

⁷⁴ A. I. Robertson, "Three Real Daughters of the Revolution," *New South*, March, 1899, pp. 34-37.

⁷⁵ Obear, *Through the Years in Old Winnsboro*, p. 7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 7. St. John's Parish, Fairfield, was established in 1839.

and the influence in the Legislature of the low-country visitors.⁷⁷ The two Carolinas co-operated in building the turnpike section of the road over the mountains.⁷⁸ In North Carolina the road was built by the Buncombe Turnpike Company, chartered in 1824.⁷⁹ The first toll gate on this turnpike was opened in 1827.⁸⁰

The Buncombe Road was put to good use by the low-country gentlemen who had discovered a new summer retreat in Buncombe County, some two hundred and fifty miles from their plantations. They developed communities at Flat Rock and Fletcher in the country between the Gap and Asheville. Among the first to acquire land, build summer seats, and become residents in this region were Charles Baring and Mitchell King. About 1830 Baring, a Combahee River rice planter who had married the widow of Nathaniel Heyward's brother James, removed to The Lodge, which he had built upon his four-thousand-acre mountain estate at Flat Rock.⁸¹ There, served by a retinue of sixty slaves, he spent his time improving his holdings and beautifying his grounds, laying out an extensive park and garden. In the summer of 1830 King, a Charleston jurist, was at Flat Rock making preparations to build on his lands there.⁸² He was married, on August 14, to Miss Margaret Campbell, daughter of Mrs. Henrietta Campbell, of Charleston, at the latter's summer residence in Buncombe.⁸³ On October 19 King entered into an agreement with William Murray to rent to the latter "for one year from the 1st of March next at . . . 400 dollars per annum . . . all the Tavern and Establishment called Flat Rock belonging to the said Mitchell King now occupied as a house of Entertainment by John Davis."⁸⁴ Murray moved into the establishment on the date

⁷⁷ *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 124, 189; *S. C. Guide*, pp. 83-84; Richardson, *Greenville County*, p. 76. In 1848 the office of Superintendent of Public Works was abolished and a commission was appointed to supervise the Saluda Turnpike (*S. C. Statutes*, XI, 499).

⁷⁸ WPA, Writers' Program, *North Carolina, A Guide to the Old North State* (Chapel Hill, 1939), p. 465. Hereinafter cited as *N. C. Guide*.

⁷⁹ F. A. Sondley, *A History of Buncombe County, North Carolina* (2 vols.; Asheville, 1930), II, 617; James Iredell and William H. Battle, eds., *The Revised Statutes of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly at the Session of 1836-7* . . . (2 vols.; Raleigh, 1837), II, 418.

⁸⁰ Margaret W. Morley, *The Carolina Mountains* (New York, 1913), pp. 112 f.

⁸¹ Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, pp. 267-268.

⁸² See letters and documents in Mitchell King Papers (University of North Carolina Library).

⁸³ *Columbia Southern Times*, Aug. 26, 1830.

⁸⁴ MS in King Papers.

specified and made preparations for the expected summer visitors. His letters to King contained various suggestions for increasing the accommodations and "good naim" of the place.⁸⁵ He reported, on May 30, the arrival, as boarders, of Dr. John Dickson, of Charleston, and his family. Dickson wrote to King in August that many travelers who could not be accommodated at Asheville and Warm Springs would come back to Flat Rock if there were room for them.⁸⁶ He mentioned Judge Samuel Prioleau, of Charleston, who had wanted to stay at Flat Rock but had had to go on, followed by B. F. Dunkin, of All Saints, who had stayed a few days. Mrs. King being unable to go up to Buncombe that year because of her confinement, King came up alone in September and arranged for his friend, Dr. Dickson, to occupy the King cottage for the winter.⁸⁷

Several years later the Kings' summer residence, called Argyle, was completed, and they became regular sojourners at Flat Rock. In 1837 Count Charles de Choiseul, who had recently joined the Baring colony at Flat Rock, wrote to King:

It gives me much pleasure to inform you that your house is at last in the way of being completed. . . .

Madame de Choiseul and my daughters . . . express their regret at being deprived of the pleasure of seeing you and your amiable family this summer, we all trust that you will be able to come next year, when you will find your house in complete order.⁸⁸

No sooner was this house completed than Judge King found it too small to accommodate his family and began to make plans for a larger one. The new house was to be a two-story brick structure, sixty by forty by twenty-two feet, with a pediment running the whole length and supported by six brick columns, and with two wings, each fifty feet long by twenty feet wide.⁸⁹ Another Charlestonian establishing a summer residence at Flat Rock during these years was C. G. Memminger, whose place, Rock Hill, was set in the midst of beautifully landscaped grounds, reflecting the taste, culture, and hospitality of the owner.⁹⁰ These pioneers were soon joined by other low-country families—Pinckney, DuBose, Elliott, Parker, Drayton, Lowndes,

⁸⁵ Murray to King, March 13 and 27, April 24, May 9 and 30, 1831, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Dickson to King, Aug. 8, 1831, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ King to Dr. George D. Phillips, Oct. 12, 1831, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ De Choiseul to King, May 22, 1837, *ibid.*

⁸⁹ King to Samuel Lyle, Sept. 9, 1839, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Henry D. Capers, *Life and Times of C. G. Memminger* (Richmond, 1893), pp. 370-371.

Grimké, Middleton, Barnwell, McCabe.⁹¹ Near Baring's Lodge, which was sold in 1854 to Edward Trenholm of Charleston, was the home of James Rose Rutledge. Beyond Memminger's Rock Hill on the Little River Road was Andrew Johnston's Beaumont. Judge Charles Simonton of Charleston and Mrs. Margaret King Huger had estates in the vicinity of Mitchell King's Argyle.

The Flat Rock community centered around its church. As early as 1832 Baring had built a small family chapel, which was replaced by a larger church, built between 1834 and 1836 and remodeled in 1854 after being damaged by a forest fire.⁹² This church, with its buff plastered walls, its black-hinged weathered oak doors, and its square stone bell-tower, was called St. John's-in-the-Wilderness. One of the rectors of the church was the Reverend John Grimké Drayton, of Magnolia-on-Ashley, St. Andrew's Parish, and of Ravenswood at Flat Rock.⁹³ There was also the Flat Rock Social Club, "where the young people of the region enjoyed summer Saint Cecilias—when all Flat Rock was a transplanted Charleston."⁹⁴ With the growth of the colony, life became "a joyous round of visits and merrymakings," including costume balls and dinner parties; and the Little River Road was "thronged with carriages and riders."⁹⁵ In a letter to her father on July 10, 1846, after the family had been at Flat Rock for two weeks, Henrietta King reported that everybody had been very prompt in calling on them. All the children were to spend the evening at the King place to celebrate little Mitchell's birthday. "Mr. Memminger's family," she added, "is expected up this week and then there will not be an unoccupied house in the settlement."⁹⁶

Mary McDuffie, writing on July 28, 1851, after a month's sojourn, declared that she found Flat Rock a very pleasant summer resort community "composed of very kind nice people, principally rice Planters and their families who are afraid to remain in the low country during the summer."⁹⁷ On October 6, she wrote:

The weather now is commencing to be cool and pleasant, which

⁹¹ Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, pp. 269 ff.

⁹² *N. C. Guide*, pp. 465-466; Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, pp. 268-269.

⁹³ Morley, *Carolina Mountains*, p. 117.

⁹⁴ Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, p. 277.

⁹⁵ Morley, *Carolina Mountains*, pp. 112 ff.

⁹⁶ King Papers.

⁹⁷ Mary McDuffie to Mrs. Armistead Burt, July 28, 1851, Mary Singleton McDuffie Papers, 1849-1872 (Duke University Library).

seems to have induced a general wish to move below. Very soon the neighborhood will be quite deserted, as this is entirely a summer population, with the exception of one or two families who remain here altogether.⁹⁸

James Silk Buckingham, who visited Flat Rock in the summer of 1839, recorded his progress from Greenville to Flat Rock and his overnight stop at the Inn. He left Greenville by stage about nine o'clock on the morning of July 19, it being thought a good day's journey to reach Flat Rock, thirty-six miles away, by sunset. Twenty-four miles from Greenville, he and his fellow-passengers reached Colonel Hodges's place, "half inn and half farm-house." Here the road began to wind "in a serpentine form" up the sides of "a very steep mountain," and the going was "extremely difficult for the horses." Three miles farther on, after passing the first gate of the turnpike, where they paid \$1.50 toll, they reached the crest of the mountain with its stone marking the border between the two Carolinas and its remarkable view. Then came the second toll gate, where the charge was \$1.00; beyond this they began the gradual descent over the continuously good road, passing at sunset a large, nearly completed hotel in a pretty valley about two miles from Flat Rock, "a single house, without a village," at which they soon arrived. Buckingham thus describes the Inn, kept then by Colonel Young:

There were some fifty persons staying at this house, some for health, and some for pleasure, and these were said to include members of the first families in Carolina. Yet the place appeared to us to possess no one attraction, but that of climate, which could be enjoyed in as great perfection anywhere throughout this range. . . . The bed-rooms were dark and dingy, the bedding coarse and dirty; no wash-stands, dressing-tables, mats or carpets; broken looking-glasses, tallow candles, brass and tin candlesticks, and filthy negro servants. . . . The dining-room was not more than eight feet high, with a whitewashed wooden ceiling, blackened with the ascending smoke of candles; it was like a badly built soldiers' barracks; and the fare was . . . coarse, greasy, tough, badly-dressed, and cold. In short, the whole establishment was forbidding and comfortless . . . ; yet here many families of opulence, and especially ladies, passed several months in the summer; were anxious to get here, and always sorry when the time came to go away.

At nine o'clock the next morning, "after a disagreeable night, partly

⁹⁸ *Idem* to Armistead Burt, Oct. 6, 1851, *ibid.*

passed in hunting those enemies to sleep, which infest nearly all the wooden houses of the South," they left the Inn and Flat Rock, noting the "pleasing appearance" of the Baring country-seat and professing readiness to believe the estimate of Buncombe County as "the most healthy and beautiful portion of all the Southern country."⁹⁹

In 1848 J. C. Faber, who proceeded in a more leisurely way from Greenville to Flat Rock, stopped the first night at Lynch's, ten miles from Greenville; the second at Davis's, eleven miles from Flat Rock, and arrived at nine the following morning at Summey's Blue Ridge House. Here he remained, "snugly housed," for more than a week, "making in the meantime pleasant excursions to visit the handsome summer residences . . . and to gain a prospect from one eminence or another of the neighboring mountains."¹⁰⁰ Flat Rock's most famous host was "Squire" Henry T. Farmer, Chee-ha River rice planter and relative of Mrs. Baring. Farmer presided over the new inn built by the residents of Flat Rock about 1850 to replace the old one destroyed by fire in 1843.¹⁰¹ He announced in 1855 that the Flat Rock Hotel was served by Messrs. Ripley and Salters' line of handsome four-horse coaches, which left Greenville daily and arrived in time for dinner, and that board was \$1.25 a day.¹⁰² A correspondent of the *Lancaster Ledger* found about forty visitors at the hotel, which he described as "in full view of the Blue Ridge and other mountains, with constant and delightful breezes from their tops." He declared that the place was well managed by Farmer, who seemed "to take pleasure in giving to his guests every attention, and even in anticipating their wants."¹⁰³

Beyond Flat Rock and Hendersonville, the seat of the new county carved out of Buncombe in 1838, was Fletcher, around which developed another summer colony of low-country planters. Foremost among them were the Blakes, the Rutledges, and the Heywards.¹⁰⁴ Daniel Blake, a Combahee River rice planter, established his summer residence there as early as 1833. The first dwelling

⁹⁹ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 192 ff. The old Inn, owned by Mitchell King and successively kept by John Davis, William Murray, Benjamin Richardson, and Alexander Pearson, was purchased in 1835 for \$8,000 by George Summey (King Papers).

¹⁰⁰ J. C. Faber to his sister, July 16, 1848, Smith Papers.

¹⁰¹ Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, p. 277; *N. C. Guide*, p. 465.

¹⁰² *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 3, 1855.

¹⁰³ *Lancaster (S. C.) Ledger*, Aug. 28, 1858.

¹⁰⁴ Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, pp. 265-267; Henry T. Thompson, *Henry Timrod, Laureate of the Confederacy* (Columbia, 1928), p. 20.

on his estate burned about 1845 and was replaced by a large, square house, the walls of which, built of light-colored stone quarried at near-by Couch Mountain, were three feet thick. The interior woodwork was of mahogany and black walnut. Served by a red brick kitchen-house and slave quarters of oak and chestnut, the mansion sat in a beautifully landscaped garden laid out by Blake and his English gardener. The estate was called The Meadows. Not far away stood the church and the inn. Calvary Episcopal Church, consecrated in 1859, was built by the summer residents; the inn was erected before 1850 by Dr. George W. Fletcher on the site of the cottage of his Pennsylvania grandfather, who had settled there not long after the Revolution. In 1847 Alexander Robertson, of Charleston, built near Fletcher a white-columned mansion called Struan after the family estate in Scotland.¹⁰⁵ J. B. Grimball visited Struan with the owner in the summer of 1856. They went by train from Charleston to Greenville, where they took the stage for Buncombe at half past one on the morning of June 26, reaching Robertson's place, some fifty-two miles away, about six o'clock in the afternoon. While they were at dinner Blake came over and invited Grimball to dine with him the next day. During Grimball's visit the Wards of Waccamaw were also guests of the Robertsons. After spending six days at Fletcher, Grimball went on to Asheville.¹⁰⁶

Founded by John Burton in 1794 and incorporated in 1797, Asheville had been resorted to almost from the first because of its strategic location athwart the natural and artificial avenues of travel.¹⁰⁷ The completion in 1828 of the Buncombe Turnpike made it more accessible to travelers from the south.¹⁰⁸ One of these travelers wrote in her diary on a Sunday in 1827:

The small village (or as it is called, town) of Asheville is beautifully situated, bounded on all sides by mountains rising to the clouds, quite a picturesque spot but it does not consist of more than 20 houses, Mr. Patton's establishment forming 2/3 of it. As they have not a church, or any regular preacher—I remained indoors to enjoy this day of rest. . . .¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ *N. C. Guide*, p. 464.

¹⁰⁶ Grimball Diary, XI, 161-162.

¹⁰⁷ Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, p. 295; Sondley, *Buncombe County*, II, 651, 656, 663 ff.

¹⁰⁸ *N. C. Guide*, pp. 139, 462.

¹⁰⁹ Juliana Margaret Connor Diary, 1827 (University of North Carolina Library).

Twelve years later Buckingham, covering the twenty-five miles between Flat Rock and Asheville in six hours, was more favorably impressed:

We found a much better hotel in Asheville . . . ; and were comfortably accommodated with good rooms and good fare. We passed the evening with some very agreeable company, who had come from the sea-coast for health and pleasure. These were chiefly ladies, there being about 50 persons of whom not more than 10 were gentlemen.¹¹⁰

Asheville then had a population of 200, of whom 120 were whites.¹¹¹ There were still only twenty houses, including stores and dwellings, besides the two hotels and the brick Buncombe County Courthouse; but there was a wooden Methodist Church, where occasional services were held.

During the summers of 1838 and 1839 Mrs. L. A. Taveau visited Asheville.¹¹² The Reverend Paul Trapier, of Charleston, and his family spent several months on the banks of the Swannanoah near Asheville in the summer of 1856.¹¹³ By 1859 Asheville had three hotels: the Eagle, then kept by Patton and Blair but formerly by Dr. J. D. Boyd, and said to be the most frequented; the Buck, long kept by J. H. Gudge, and the headquarters of the stage from Greenville; and the Buncombe House, a summer hotel, "situated in a rather retired portion of the town, sufficiently near for all purposes, but away from its dust and bustle."¹¹⁴ There were also three churches with "regular preaching"—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal. The town was said to be adorned with many luxurious residences set in broad yards, "the result of cultivated taste among its inhabitants" and the summer visitors from South Carolina who together made up a society noted for its hospitality and morality.¹¹⁵

To view the town and its surrounding scenery and especially to enjoy the sunset and the cool evening breeze, the people resorted to the courthouse, which was situated on the highest point of the town and had a cupola ninety-six feet above the base; or they walked

¹¹⁰ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 201.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 202.

¹¹² See her letters to her son, A. L. Taveau, in Taveau Papers.

¹¹³ Trapier MS, Notices of Ancestors and Relatives.

¹¹⁴ Colton, *Mountain Scenery*, pp. 19-20.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

to near-by Beaucatcher Knob, where, as the name suggests, couples made good use of time and place; or they drove along the Swannanoah.¹¹⁶ The more venturesome might set out for Black Mountain, spend the night at the Mountain House, built for his own accommodation by William Patton of Charleston, and in the morning climb to Mitchell's High Peak.¹¹⁷

During the 1840's and 1850's a number of other mountain resorts in the two Carolinas were made more convenient for and accessible to the increasing number of visitors from the low country. In 1848 the Legislature of South Carolina chartered the Keowee Turnpike Company, whose road in Pickens District was to connect with that of the Tuckasege Company in North Carolina.¹¹⁸ The White Water Falls Turnpike Company, incorporated December 16, 1851, was to build a road from Jocassee Valley to the White Water Falls and the North Carolina line.¹¹⁹ Governor John L. Manning of South Carolina, a visitor to Jocassee and the Falls in the summer of 1853, declared that he had never seen anything so beautiful excepting Niagara.¹²⁰ He found the atmosphere to be "cool and bracing." At Table Rock was the fashionable Keith-Sutherland Hotel, opened in 1848 with a gala celebration attended by the governors of the two Carolinas.¹²¹

Nine miles from Greenville was Paris Mountain, with its Mountain House, of which Dr. J. P. Hillhouse was the proprietor. According to "Rambler," a correspondent of the *Charleston Daily Courier* in September, 1855, the building was plain, neat, and furnished in country style; the accommodations were limited but comfortable; the fare was wholesome and abundant. He suggested that "our friends from below will do well to give it a prominent place in their excursion tables of arrangements" and advised travelers who might, like himself, "be disappointed in prosecuting the journey over the mountains of North Carolina" to "avail themselves of the acces-

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; *Charleston Courier*, July 2, 1858. Patton, who had a summer farm on the Swannanoah, is said to have been largely responsible for attracting attention to the mountain scenery of western North Carolina.

¹¹⁸ *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 517, 570; XII, 580.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XII, 88.

¹²⁰ J. L. Manning to his wife, Pickens Court House, Aug. 21, 1853, Williams-Chesnut-Mannings Papers, 1754-1901 (University of North Carolina Library).

¹²¹ *S. C. Guide*, p. 416. The Table Mountain Turnpike Company was chartered in 1856 (*S. C. Statutes*, XII, 505).

sibility of this beautiful retreat."¹²² On December 19, 1855, the Legislature authorized Dr. Hillhouse to lay out and construct at his own expense a toll road "commencing at some point near Greenville Court House, on the Buncombe or Rutherford Road, and passing along or near the crest of Paris Mountain, to terminate at the Mountain House."¹²³

The hotel at Caesar's Head, on the Jones Gap Road from Greenville to Asheville, was located a few yards from the perpendicular precipice that formed one side of this lofty mountain; it was as noted for its excellent fare and amiable proprietor as for its outlook.¹²⁴ The proprietor was Colonel Hagood, of Pickens, former senator from the old Pendleton District, who spent the summer on the mountain with his family and attended to the comforts of all visitors, adding greatly to their enjoyment by his "great humor, pleasantry and witticism."¹²⁵ Over in the North State some eight miles beyond Caesar's Head was Cedar Mountain, where, July 1, 1855, M. S. Thomas opened the Cedar Mountain House, a "large and commodious" hotel containing thirty-two rooms.¹²⁶ Within twenty steps of the piazza was a clear and cold mineral spring and on the pinnacle of the mountain an observation tower. The proprietor advertised that there was an abundance of game in the mountains and fine fishing in the near-by streams.¹²⁷ From Cedar Mountain the traveler might proceed to Cashier's Valley, a most perfect valley, "hemmed in on three sides by tall mountains and . . . watered by the upper waters of the French Broad River."¹²⁸ This was the resort of the Hamptons, Prestons, Calhouns, Haskells, Cheveses, McCords, Taylors, Palmers, Stevens, Whitners, and Sloans.¹²⁹ The estate of General Wade Hampton II (1791-1858), of Millwood, Richland District, numbered twenty-two hundred acres.¹³⁰ After 1850 Cashier's Valley was served by an inn built by General Hampton. On December 21, 1857, the Cashier's Valley Turnpike Com-

¹²² *Charleston Daily Courier*, Sept. 4, 1855.

¹²³ *S. C. Statutes*, XII, 475.

¹²⁴ Colton, *Mountain Scenery*, p. 38.

¹²⁵ *Lancaster Ledger*, Aug. 25, 1858. The hotel could accommodate about forty people.

¹²⁶ *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 27, 1855.

¹²⁷ *Lancaster Ledger*, Aug. 25, 1858.

¹²⁸ Colton, *Mountain Scenery*, p. 38.

¹²⁹ Dave U. Sloan, *Fogy Days, And Now; or, The World Has Changed* (Atlanta, 1891), p. 24.

¹³⁰ *N. C. Guide*, p. 506.

pany and the Sassafras Gap Turnpike Company were incorporated by the South Carolina Legislature.¹³¹

Thus in the Blue Ridge Mountains of the Carolinas the low-country planters could find a goal for their summer migrations that equaled in beauty and salubrity, if not in fashionableness and facilities, anything seen by those whose strenuous excursions took them farther afield to the Blue Ridge and the Shenandoah in Virginia or to the Catskills and Niagara in New York and the White Mountains in New Hampshire.

¹³¹ *S. C. Statutes*, XII, 662, 664.

CHAPTER V

HO! FOR THE SPRINGS!

Summering at "the Springs" on the part of South Carolina low-country families developed from a tentative trying of the waters of a particular spring into a regular progress to the spas. The great number of these watering places, some of lasting national fame and others of fleeting local reputation, precludes more than a brief notice of some of them, with a fuller account of a selected few and a general description of the social life typical of them all.

In the so-called middle country were a number of mineral springs and watering places of more or less local reputation and patronage, some of which occasionally attracted a wider patronage or served as stopping places for individuals and families making the progress to and from the mountains. Bradford Springs, situated in the High Hills of Santee between Sumterville and Camden on the road from Charleston, was named for Nathaniel Bradford, an early owner of the plantation on which the springs were located.¹ By 1824 the springs were being patronized and commercialized.² In the immediate neighborhood of Bradford Springs was a summer community of socially prominent Santee planters from Georgetown, Charleston, Williamsburg, and Sumter districts, whose dwellings ranged from simple cottages to spacious mansions.³ Here might be found people with such names as Gaillard, Porcher, Stoney, Sinkler, Bossard, Fraser, Boyd, Tate, Davis, Capers, and Burrows. Most of these families were Episcopalians. To attend church, they had to drive to Stateburg, sixteen miles away. In 1840 St. Philip's, Bradford Springs, was organized; three years later a church was completed, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Esther Gourdin Holbrook, of Charleston, a frequent visitor at the Springs.⁴ She secured the

¹ Mrs. W. B. Colclough, comp., "History of St. Philip's Church, Bradford Springs," *Parish Leaflet of Ascension, Hagood; Holy Cross, Stateburg; St. Philip's, Bradford Springs*, IV, No. 4 (Lent, 1936).

² See advertisement of Dr. H. DuBose in the *Camden Southern Chronicle*, Feb. 26, 1825.

³ Colclough, comp., "History of St. Philip's Church," *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*; James M. Burgess, *Chronicles of St. Mark's Parish . . . 1731-1835* (Columbia, 1888), p. 57. Two acres of land had been deeded to the vestry

money from gentlemen of the neighborhood, some of whom were vestrymen of St. Philip's. The church was a simple frame structure, forty-two feet by twenty-six feet, with Gothic windows and a slave gallery. The Bradford Springs Female Institute Company was chartered in 1848, and there was established at Bradford Springs the Harmony Female College, attended by girls from both the low country and the up country.⁵

At Spring Hill in Marlboro District during the 1840's and 1850's a number of planters from the Great Pee Dee River had their summer homes around the mineral spring discovered in 1781.⁶ The village of Cool Springs in Kershaw District was a summer retreat of Wateree planters, among them John Chesnut, of Camden, who in his will, dated May 10, 1839, left to his wife "a life Estate in my dwelling house at Cool Spring."⁷ Rice Creek Springs, about half-way between Camden and Columbia in Richland District, was described by Mills in 1826 as "the resort in summer of much respectable company."⁸ The settlement consisted of "an excellent public house" and the cottages of the summer residents, including those of planters from the near-by river plantations. From 1830 to 1845 it was the seat of Richland Polytechnic Institute.⁹ The announcement of the opening of the public house for the season of 1830 stated that arrangements had been made for biweekly stage service from Columbia.¹⁰ Rice Creek Springs was said to have been a favorite watering place for many of the leading citizens of the capital city, fifteen miles to the southeast.¹¹ Another resort of Columbians was Light-

by Henry Britton, who had purchased the Bradford Springs Plantation in 1835 from John A. Colclough, whose brother William had acquired it from General Thomas Sumter, to whom Bradford had sold the land. See Gregorie, *Sumter*, pp. 266, 269.

⁵ *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 539; *Harmony Female College, Bradford Springs, South Carolina, 1857* (Charleston, 1857), pp. 8, 14-16.

⁶ Rev. J. A. W. Thomas, *A History of Marlboro County* (Atlanta, 1897), p. 191.

⁷ Kershaw County, Court of Probate, Will Book Q, 15.

⁸ Mills, *Statistics*, p. 710.

⁹ Jane K. Simons, *A Guide to Columbia*, p. 68. In 1827 the Reverend Dr. Rufus Bailey, Dartmouth graduate and law student of Daniel Webster, established there a military academy which is said to have been "broken up because public sentiment, engendered by the Nullification embroglio, was averse to Northern men in charge of a military school in South Carolina" (John Adger Law, ed., *Citadel Cadets. The Journal of Cadet Tom Law*, Clinton, S. C., 1941, p. 106 n. 2).

¹⁰ *Columbia Southern Times*, May 13, 1830.

¹¹ Scott, *Random Recollections*, p. 72.

wood Knot Springs, six miles from the city.¹² Within two and one-half miles of Columbia was Lonamsville Springs, whose proprietor, G. A. Hillegas, announced in August, 1829, that his place possessed "every convenience for the accommodation and comfort of all who are in search of health."¹³ He suggested that it might "suit the convenience of families returning from the mountains to call and spend a few days."

In St. Matthew's Parish, Orangeburg District, was Totness, a small but "much frequented" summer watering place on the north side of High Hill Creek, about three miles from the Congaree River and twenty miles from Orangeburg Court House.¹⁴ The Totness Academical Association was chartered in 1833; in 1850 the village was incorporated, its limits marked by a circle with a radius of a half mile from the village church.¹⁵ Mrs. L. A. Taveau, of Charleston, and her daughters, Mrs. Thomas Waring and Mrs. William Haskell, stopped at Totness on the way to the up country in 1838 and 1839.¹⁶ Mention has already been made of Coker Spring in connection with the sandhill resort of Aiken in Barnwell and Edgefield districts.¹⁷

The up country proper was well supplied with mineral springs. To his friend and neighbor, Armistead Burt, George McDuffie, planter and politician of Abbeville District, wrote on July 19, 1839: "I will go with you at any time to the Abbeville Springs, as I am desirous of trying the waters for a week."¹⁸ Burt was one of the charter members of the Abbeville Mineral Springs Company, which was incorporated on December 21, 1839, for a term of fourteen years and authorized to hold property to the value of \$50,000.¹⁹ McDuffie, it is said, built the hotel at Diamond Hill Springs, in

¹² Mills, *Statistics*, p. 710; Lockwood, *Geography*, pp. 65-66; Scott, *Random Recollections*, p. 72; Julian A. Selby, *Memorabilia and Anecdotal Reminiscences of Columbia, S. C., and Incidents Connected Therewith* (Columbia, 1905), p. 52.

¹³ *Columbia Telescope*, Aug. 21, 1829.

¹⁴ Mills, *Statistics*, p. 663; Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 73.

¹⁵ *S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 381; XII, 42.

¹⁶ See their correspondence with A. L. Taveau, in Taveau Papers.

¹⁷ Other middle-country summer watering places were Spring Town (defunct by 1832), Boiling Springs, and Healing Springs in Barnwell District; Poplar Springs in Orangeburg District; and Platt Springs in Lexington District. See Mills, *Statistics*, pp. 362, 615, 663; Lockwood, *Geography*, pp. 73, 76.

¹⁸ In George McDuffie Papers, 1822-1870 (Duke University Library).

¹⁹ *S. C. Statutes*, XI, 73.

Abbeville District, with a view to making that resort a watering place on the model of the Virginia Springs.²⁰

A more fashionable up-country watering place was Chick Springs, about ten miles northeast of Greenville. Dr. Burrell Chick, who moved to Greenville in 1825, heard stories of the remarkable curative properties of this then little-known spring and, after having the waters analyzed, purchased it from its owner, a Mr. Crowder.²¹ Dr. Chick built a hotel at the spring and settled there himself about 1840. Soon Chick's Spring, whose only attraction was its waters, became popular. The hotel was filled, and families began to put up cottages on the surrounding hills. In his *Report on the Geology of South Carolina* (1848), Michael Tuomey declared that the spring, the predominant ingredients of whose water were salts of lime and magnesia, was a place of considerable resort.²² Governor John L. Manning visited Chick Springs in August, 1853, and attended a ball given in his honor.²³ In advertising the opening of the resort for the season of 1856 on June 22, Pettus W. and Reuben S. Chick, the proprietors, who had developed both a chalybeate and a sulphur spring, announced that a billiard table and tenpin alley were available free of charge.²⁴ An observer of the scene at Chick Springs about this time wrote that the number of invalids among the patrons was smaller than that of "the gay and youthful in quest of pleasure or matrimonial alliances."²⁵ The rates at Chick Springs in 1858, when John T. Hennerey was proprietor, were:

Meal	\$.50
Per day	1.25
week	7.00
month	25.00
month (season)	20.00
Children and servants	half price
Horses, per day62½
week	3.00
Carriage fare from Greenville	1.00 ²⁶

²⁰ Edwin L. Green, *George McDuffie* (Columbia, 1936), p. 174.

²¹ Crittenden, *Century Book*, p. 40; Writers' Program, *Palmetto Place Names*, p. 34.

²² Michael Tuomey, *Report on the Geology of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1848), p. 129.

²³ Manning to his wife, Aug. 21, 1853, Williams-Chesnut-Manning Papers.

²⁴ *Spartanburg Express*, June 19, 1856.

²⁵ Reverend Dr. Jeremiah Joseph O'Connell, O.S.B., *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia: Leaves of Its History, 1820-1878* (New York, 1879), pp. 367-368.

²⁶ *Charleston Courier*, July 14, 1858.

About the time that Dr. Chick removed to Greenville, John B. Glenn bought Powder Spring in Spartanburg District, about twelve miles southeast of the courthouse.²⁷ This spring had already acquired sufficient local reputation to cause a demand for lodgings on the part of those taking the waters; James P. Means, the owner, had always accommodated some of them in the two-story frame house he had built about ten years before on a hill near the spring. Thereafter known as Glenn's, the spring became a popular up-country summer resort. Glenn enlarged Means's house into an inn; when it proved inadequate to meet the demands for accommodations, he erected several log cabins. With his permission some families built their own cabins.

This increasing resort to the spring influenced a group of fifteen sojourners in the summer of 1835 to form a stock company for the purpose of buying the property and building an adequate hotel. Prominent among these men was Dr. Maurice A. Moore, Union District planter, who during his summers at the spring had observed the therapeutic effect of the water on various diseases and had been convinced of its great medicinal value.²⁸ Chartered in 1837 with Dr. Moore as president, the Glenn Springs Company paid Glenn fifteen thousand dollars for the property which he had bought for eight hundred, and proceeded with plans for building.²⁹ Erected of the best materials, including heart pine, post oak, and poplar, the new hotel had a central section sixty feet square and three and a half stories high, and three wings, each fifty feet long and two stories high. The dining room, drawing room, and ballroom were each fifty feet in length with ceilings twelve feet high. For these and other public rooms, including the card rooms, handsome furniture was ordered from New York. A famous landscape gardener, an expert meat and pastry cook, and a string band were engaged. Thus handsomely furnished and equipped, expertly staffed, and lav-

²⁷ Mrs. T. Sumter Means, "History of Glenn Springs from Its Discovery with Personal Sketches of Its Habitues," in [Simpson and Simpson, Proprietors], *Glenn Springs, South Carolina, Its Location, Discovery, History* (Spartanburg, 1882), pp. 21-25; J. B. O. Landrum, *History of Spartanburg County* (Atlanta, 1900), pp. 643-645.

²⁸ Celina E. Means, "Biographical Sketch of Dr. Maurice Moore," in Maurice A. Moore, *Reminiscences of York* (Yorkville, S. C., n.d.), introduction, pages not numbered.

²⁹ Mrs. T. S. Means, "History of Glenn Springs," *loc. cit.*; *S. C. Statutes*, VIII, 457. The company was authorized to hold real and personal property to the value of \$75,000.

ishly but incompletely landscaped, the Glenn Springs Hotel opened in July of 1838. During July, August, and part of September, "private vehicles and public stages constantly rolled up to the door, bringing loads of visitors," who filled the house, often to the point of crowding. The social seasons at the Springs during the next few years were brilliant, but too short to permit a return on the lavish outlay of the company, which went into liquidation.

The Hotel was bought in 1843 by a Mr. Murph, whose nephew, John C. Zimmerman, successfully managed the resort for the next decade. In advertising the opening of the resort for the season of 1849, Proprietor Zimmerman announced that henceforth it would be kept open the year round; he also began to offer his property for sale, saying that he wished to retire to private life.³⁰ That he was able to retire is evident from the following advertisement:

Permit us . . . to inform you that this celebrated Watering Place, with an addition of Cold, Warm and Shower Baths, with many other improvements, will be completed and ready to receive company by the 20th instant. We have, at great expense to ourselves, undertaken to open the Hotel. . . . The object . . . by those who built up this as a Watering Place, was to provide a healthy, pleasant and safe retreat for our citizens in summer, within the limits of our State, so as to retain as large a portion of the immense sums . . . spent each year by our citizens in traveling as possible. . . . At this place we have every accommodation and amusement that can be had at any place of resort. . . .

J. C. JANNEY³¹

Society at Glenn Springs was gay and distinguished as well as valetudinarian, professional as well as pleasure-seeking. Thither came politicians, educators, and soldiers, mingling with planters and their families and other habitués. In those days Glenn Springs was not only a militia muster ground, but also a sort of summer capital for the Palmetto State. The governor, prohibited by the state constitution from leaving the state during his term of office, moved his headquarters to the Springs for several weeks each summer and

³⁰ *Columbia Daily Telegraph*, April 10 and May 1, 1849.

³¹ *Laurensville Herald*, June 5, 1855. Janney was followed by Thomas Steen, celebrated hotel man of Charleston and Greenville, who managed the establishment for the years 1857 and 1858 (*Sumter Watchman*, June 24, 1857). Arthur F. W. Simmons, of St. Paul's Parish, was the next owner of the resort, with Colonel Larkin Griffin as host (*Grimball Diary*, XII, 69; *Spartanburg Spartan*, June 16, 1859).

often for the whole season. He was joined by judges and lawyers, members of Congress and of the state legislature, and various state officials, with the result that "some important decisions of the Supreme Court were written in its precincts, and more than one State paper of importance drafted in the shadow of its walls," to say nothing of the political discussion and maneuvering that doubtless went on.³² Among the jurists who visited Glenn Springs were Chancellors Harper and Johnson and Judges Butler, Huger, Cheves, DeSaussure, Johnson, Elmore, Seabrook, Hayne, Laborde, Barnwell, Pickens, and O'Neill. Colonel William C. Preston, United States Senator and President of the South Carolina College, spent part of every summer at the Springs and admitted that they were more beneficial to his nerves than those of his native Virginia. Congressman Preston S. Brooks, a captain in the Palmetto Regiment, whose survivors were the heroes of Glenn Springs in 1847, had a summer place near by, as did many other gentlemen, including some of the stockholders of the short-lived company. A few became permanent residents, following the example of Dr. Moore, who, instead of regretting the financial loss incurred in the development of the Springs, considered it a boon to suffering humanity and, in the years after 1843, became the physician and friend of the resort's invalids.³³ Among the latter were two of Glenn Springs' central figures, Mrs. Farnandes and Mrs. Bacon. Mrs. Farnandes, known as "Aunt Sally," was one of the first guests of the new hotel and never missed a season from then until the Civil War. Eased though not cured at the Springs, she was said to be "cheerful in affliction," and "untiring in kindness," "entering into the joys and sorrow of all around." Mrs. Bacon, who came first in 1840 and was cured, continued to come for a month every year for thirty years.³⁴ A successful seeker after health in 1845 was Mrs. John C. Calhoun.³⁵

In the two decades before the war the public patronage and social prestige of Glenn Springs continued to increase and reached their height in the season of 1860, when a thousand visitors were accommodated there. A village grew up around the Springs during these years. Besides the houses of some permanent residents, there were a store, a post office, a male academy, and an Episcopal

³² Mrs. T. S. Means, "History of Glenn Springs," *loc. cit.*

³³ C. E. Means, "Biographical Sketch of Dr. Maurice Moore," *loc. cit.*

³⁴ Mrs. T. S. Means, "History of Glenn Springs," *loc. cit.*

³⁵ John C. Calhoun to F. W. Pickens, Aug. 21, 1845, in *SCHGM*, VII (Jan., 1906), 15.

Church.³⁶ The church was consecrated in 1850 as Calvary Church, and thereafter there were semimonthly services instead of occasional "preachings" by visiting clergymen in the hotel parlor. Beginning July 1, 1859, the rector, who heretofore had also served the Church of the Advent at Spartanburg, gave his entire time to Calvary Church, whose congregation, he reported, was "usually good" and "in the summer season large."³⁷

Glenn Springs was served by stage lines, later supplemented, but not entirely supplanted, by railroads. In 1853 Proprietor Zimmerman informed the public that there was triweekly service by four-horse coaches from Chester and from the head of the Laurens Railroad to the Springs.³⁸ The stages of J. F. W. Saxon met passengers at Milam's Branch on the Laurens Railroad, four miles from Laurens Court House.³⁹ By using this service, travelers who left Columbia in the morning by way of Newberry on the Greenville Railroad and Milam's Branch on the Laurens Railroad might reach Glenn Springs by eight o'clock that same night. Beginning in 1857 they might also, according to Proprietor Steen, "reach the Springs in one day from Columbia by way of the Spartanburg and Union Railroad, at the terminus of which the Messrs. Harvey have large and comfortable Stages in readiness always on the arrival of the Cars."⁴⁰ This route entailed a stage ride of seventeen miles, later reduced to ten, as compared with one of twenty-eight miles on the other route.⁴¹

Traveling to Glenn Springs by way of Unionville in June, 1859, J. B. Grimball recorded:

. . . I left it [Columbia] this morning [June 11] at half past seven, by the Greenville train—at Alston—twenty-five miles from Columbia I stopped and took the eleven o'clock train for Unionville. The travelling on this road is slow and I did not reach Unionville,

³⁶ Mrs. T. S. Means, "History of Glenn Springs," *loc. cit.*; Subscription List and Plans for Opening School at Glenn Springs on January 1, 1843, dated Aug. 31, 1842, and Minutes of Meeting of Trustees, July 14, 1843, in Smith Papers; [Diocese of South Carolina], *Special Services*, p. 163. The Church was chartered Dec. 20, 1850 (*S. C. Statutes*, XII, 10).

³⁷ *The Fiftieth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1860), p. 19.

³⁸ *Lancaster Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1853.

³⁹ *Charleston Courier*, July 6, 1853; *Sumterville Black River Watchman*, Aug. 14, 1852.

⁴⁰ *Sumter Watchman*, June 24, 1857.

⁴¹ *Spartanburg Spartan*, June 16, 1859.

which is but forty-two miles from Alston, till past three o'clock. Then I took a miserable dinner—and at four entered the Stage for Glenn's Springs. I was the only passenger and the road being rough and hilly, was well jolted and did not reach the Springs until past eight o'clock. . . . The company at present is very small, but the season is not considered yet arrived.⁴²

Twenty-five miles northeast of Glenn Springs, near Colonel Wilson Nesbitt's limestone quarry, was the Limekiln Spring. In 1835 a joint-stock company composed mainly of low-country gentlemen, chartered as the Limestone Springs Company, built a hotel there.⁴³ This building, which cost between sixty and seventy-five thousand dollars, was 274 feet long by 40 feet wide; its brick walls were 27 inches thick. It had a large dining hall, drawing rooms, small family parlors, and more than a hundred guest rooms. In addition to the hotel, there were two frame houses, a story and a half high, each with its parlor, drawing room, and six bedrooms; and "nine double cabins, two stories high, containing eighteen chambers."⁴⁴

Publicized by its promoters as the South's Saratoga, Limestone Springs at once became popular with low-country valetudinarians and sportsmen, who flocked to the resort to try their luck at the therapeutic waters of the mineral springs or at the race tracks at Captain Michael Gaffney's Old Field, a mile away, "where the finest horses the country afforded were groomed, exercised and run."⁴⁵ During the decade that followed the opening of the hotel the beauty and culture of the state are said to have sat and chatted on its beautiful green terraces and to have strolled down the stately avenue of gigantic water oaks which led to a grove of romantic sylvan beauty.⁴⁶ While many families resided at the hotel, some "purchased lots and built fine houses on the rim of the limestone basin overlooking the hotel and spring." George McDuffie was a visitor at Limestone Springs in August, 1837.⁴⁷ A familiar figure there in the years after 1830, Mrs. Angelica Mitchell Nott, widow of Judge Abram

⁴² Grimball Diary, XII, 68-70.

⁴³ Landrum, *Spartanburg County*, p. 73; Writers' Program, *Palmetto Place Names*, p. 65; *S. C. Statutes*, VI, 534.

⁴⁴ Walter Carroll Taylor, *History of Limestone College* (Gaffney, S. C., 1937), pp. 7-9.

⁴⁵ *S. C. Guide*, p. 349; Landrum, *Spartanburg County*, p. 73; Journal of Captain Michael Gaffney (transcript, Kennedy Free Library, Spartanburg, S. C.), p. 36.

⁴⁶ Taylor, *Limestone College*, pp. 7-9.

⁴⁷ Green, *McDuffie*, p. 178.

Nott of Union District, considered this spot the healthiest in the state and spent most of her time there.⁴⁸

J. C. Janney, who had rented the establishment, announced in the summer of 1841 that there were ample and comfortable accommodations for three hundred visitors at this celebrated watering place, which yielded to none in the Southern states for attractions, a fact which should induce those traveling for health or pleasure to make it their resort. He assured them that they would have no difficulty in reaching the Springs, inasmuch as the roads leading thereto had been put in order and the bridges repaired or replaced since the preceding summer and as two stage lines provided biweekly service from Spartanburg and Union Court House. They would find at the resort, he said, a table and bar well supplied with the best the country afforded, an abundant store of ice for the season, a band of music in attendance for those disposed to dance, three springs all equally efficacious in restoring strength and appetite in cases of debility, and baths, cold, warm, and shower, always ready at a moment's notice. They would also find, he declared, "two excellent academies, male and female, where visitors may put their children to school," "an agreeable and cultivated society of permanent residents," and a countryside possessed of many points of scenic, historic, and industrial interest.⁴⁹

With all its attractions and appointments, Limestone Springs was not sufficiently accessible or fashionable to hold the consistently large patronage that was needed to enable the company to make a profit on its investment.⁵⁰ After ten years of existence the company went into bankruptcy, its assets passing to the South Carolina State Bank, from which it had borrowed ten thousand dollars.⁵¹ The hotel was closed and sold at a forced sale in the fall of 1845 to the Reverend Dr. Thomas Curtis, a Baptist minister, and his son, the Reverend William C. Curtis, who, by paying the ten thousand dollars due the

⁴⁸ O'Neill, *Bench and Bar*, I, 123.

⁴⁹ *Camden Journal*, May 26, 1841. There was no church at or near Limestone Springs in those days, and the community had to rely on visiting preachers. In 1838 the stockholders had invited the Reverend J. C. Furman, a Baptist preacher, to spend the summer at the Springs, with his family and servants, at no other cost than the giving of his ministerial services on Sundays; but they had been unable to induce him to spend much time there (Harvey T. Cook, *The Life and Work of James Clement Furman* [Greenville, 1926], p. 62).

⁵⁰ WPA, Writers' Program, *Spartanburg County*, p. 123.

⁵¹ Taylor, *Limestone College*, pp. 7-9.

bank, secured the buildings and three hundred acres of land and re-opened the hotel as the Limestone Springs Female High School.⁵² The community continued to be a summer resort, however, and boarding houses accommodated the visitors.

Other springs in Spartanburg District less fashionable than Glenn and Limestone were Cedar Spring, Cherokee Springs, Pacolet Springs, Patterson's Spring, and the Chalybeate Springs at Campobello.

In 1832 Lockwood described the chalybeate spring near Hanging Rock in Lancaster District as "altogether well calculated for a delightful resort for invalids in summer."⁵³ Not until the late 1850's, however, were the Hanging Rock Springs developed into something of a watering place. James M. Ingram, who had undertaken the development, announced on July 1, 1856, that he would open his establishment, which could be reached by triweekly stages from Camden, twenty-seven miles distant, and Lancasterville, eleven miles away. He assured prospective patrons that they would be served "not only the best the 'market affords,' but whatever suits the taste and appetite of every Visitor"; that they would receive every attention from him personally, as well as from the superintendent and his wife, to make them "feel at ease and at home"; and that they would have no complaints "at the bill."⁵⁴ The editor of the *Lancaster Ledger* noted with pleasure "the beginning of this laudable enterprise" on the part of a man with "both means and energy to carry it out successfully." "The valuable medicinal properties of this water have long been tested," he wrote, "and only required the usual accommodation and conveniences, and sources of amusement, to render it inferior to no watering place in the State." On August 27, after a visit to the Springs, he reported that they were "obtaining a celebrity that is justly their due"; and that, "within a brief period," the accommodations had been increased "by the erection of a number of cottages and private apartments."⁵⁵

In 1852 West Allen Williams laid out a town at the mineral spring on his property in Anderson District some twenty miles south of Greenville, and it was incorporated under the name of Williamston.⁵⁶ Williamston Springs had its hotel, of which J. W. Cobb

⁵² Landrum, *Spartanburg County*, p. 73; Writers' Program, *Spartanburg County*, p. 50; *Columbia Southern Chronicle*, Oct. 15, 1845.

⁵³ Lockwood, *Geography*, p. 60.

⁵⁴ *Lancaster Ledger*, May 28, 1856.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1856. The establishment could accommodate from fifty to seventy-five boarders (*ibid.*, May 27, 1857).

⁵⁶ *S. C. Statutes*, XII, 149.

was proprietor until he took over the Blue Ridge Hotel at Pendleton in 1860.⁵⁷ A large tract of land was given to the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Methodists to be used for churches.⁵⁸ According to Judge John Belton O'Neill, President of the Greenville and Columbia Railroad, which was to pass through Williamston the next year, the resort with its delightful springs was "worth a visit of several hundred miles" and had ample accommodations.⁵⁹ The Reverend J. J. O'Connell, a Catholic priest, found in 1856 "a village of considerable importance" with several of its cottages "occupied as summer residences by invalids and aged people" from the low country, who were attracted by the village's "healthiness and the healing qualities" of its copious sulphur spring, and came to prefer it to more populous resorts because of its retirement and quiet. Father O'Connell was invited by the proprietor of the hotel, "an excellent man and a courteous gentleman," to lecture one Sunday afternoon to the guests and some villagers, who filled the "spacious" and "tastefully adorned" dining room.⁶⁰

In 1858 a new hotel, the property of Messrs. Wilson, Tusten, and Nelson, of Abbeville, was opened.⁶¹ It was a three-story brick and frame building, 220 feet by 44 feet, with wings and a brick kitchen. It had two piazzas running the whole length of the building, supported in front by 14 brick columns. There were several public rooms, including two ladies' parlors 18 feet by 50 feet, all lighted by gas, and 140 chambers. The new hotel, said to have been very expensive but always crowded, burned in 1860 and was replaced by a smaller one, which had little time to be patronized before the war temporarily ended resort to springs, except by refugees.⁶²

South Carolina low-country planters went to springs beyond the borders of their own state. In Georgia, Catoosa Springs, Indian Springs, Madison Springs, Rowland Springs, and Warm Springs sought their patronage; as did Montvale Springs, Rhea Springs, and

⁵⁷ Pickens Court House *Keowee Courier*, May 15, 1860.

⁵⁸ Jones and Mills, eds., *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850*, p. 977. The Presbyterian Church was built in 1856 and chartered two years later (*S. C. Statutes*, XII, 710).

⁵⁹ Sumterville *Black River Watchman*, Aug. 14, 1852.

⁶⁰ O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas*, p. 381.

⁶¹ Pickens Court House *Keowee Courier*, July 3, 1858.

⁶² Coles Heyward and Dena Citron, "South Carolina's Dead Towns" (M.A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1933), p. 14.

Tate Springs in Tennessee.⁶³ More popular with South Carolinians, however, were the springs of North Carolina, Virginia, and New York.

Foremost among the spas of North Carolina were the Sulphur Springs and the Warm Springs in Buncombe County. These were resorts of long standing, but became populous and fashionable after the completion of the Buncombe Turnpike in 1828.⁶⁴ The Sulphur Springs, about four miles west of Asheville, came to be known as Deaver's Sulphur Springs, after R. Deaver, a veteran and popular proprietor. In 1841 Deaver informed "the public and particularly Southern Gentlemen, who visit the upper country for health's sake," that his house, to which he gave his entire personal attention, was ready "to receive from 150 to 200 boarders" and that "many attractions and improvements" had been made "to add to the comfort and amusement of his guests." He then declared:

The Subscriber is well aware that the pressure of money matters may keep many from travelling, who otherwise would do so. He can only say that he is willing to bear his portion of the burthen of hard times, by reducing Board, and promises to deduct ten per cent from former prices (which were already very low) where the person remains a week or longer.⁶⁵

A correspondent of the *Lancaster Ledger* who visited the Sulphur Springs in 1858 found the climate and scenery "everything that could be desired," but the buildings "old and dilapidated and by no means inviting." Nevertheless, the proprietor of that day, Thomas Goodlake, who did his best to please and was called "Uncle Tommy" by everyone, had a full house, although many were leaving "for other places of attraction."⁶⁶ Of the natural surroundings, another visitor that season said:

The position of these Springs makes them a delightful summer resort. There is always a pleasant, cool breeze stirring. . . . The view, from almost any point of the grounds, is fine,—presenting, in front, the Blue Ridge and its spurs; in the west, Mt. Pisgah and the Haywood Mountains. From a little mountain called after the editor of the *Charleston Courier*—Mt. Yeadon—a very fine view is to be had.⁶⁷

⁶³ These springs were advertised in the newspapers of Charleston and other South Carolina towns.

⁶⁴ *N. C. Guide*, pp. 139, 462.

⁶⁵ *Columbia Southern Chronicle*, June 23, 1841.

⁶⁶ *Lancaster Ledger*, Aug. 25, 1858. ⁶⁷ Colton, *Mountain Scenery*, p. 61.

Despite the difficulties of travel, many people made their way to the Warm Springs long before the construction of the Turnpike. A Methodist circuit rider, visiting them in 1801 "for a rheumatic affection," found there "quite a mixed multitude from Georgia and the Carolinas, among whom were a Presbyterian and a Baptist minister. He wrote further:

These people amused themselves at foot-racing and cards; for which I reproved them in public and private. I preached once; they paid good attention. After spending ten days among them, having received considerable benefit from the water, I left for my regular work.⁶⁸

As late as 1831 the accommodations at the Warm Springs were said to be "but poor and scanty," "the buildings being unfinished, and the bathing interrupted by the ravages" of the French Broad River.⁶⁹

The first hotel at the Warm Springs burned at the end of the 1838 season, most of the fifty guests then in residence losing their baggage.⁷⁰ The new building was of brick, 230 feet long, with a piazza 16 feet broad and 30 feet high running the whole length of the building, supported by 13 large round columns that topped the windows of the second story.⁷¹ Besides the hotel, whose dining room could seat 500 persons, there were a number of small brick cabins. Fifty guests, half of them invalids, the rest travelers or pleasure-seekers, were at the hotel when James Silk Buckingham arrived at five o'clock, July 21, 1839, having left Asheville at eight that morning on the triweekly stage. He thought that the establishment was "romantically situated" in its close valley, twelve hundred feet above sea-level and heated by the vapor from the spring, but that the appointments and amusements were rather limited. The water of the spring he found agreeable to bathe in; but the facilities for bathing seemed inconvenient to him, although he observed that the guests, "most of whom have seen nothing better," thought them excellent. A building had been erected over the spring and partitioned to form two swimming pools about twenty feet square and four feet deep, each with its own entrance, one for the ladies and

⁶⁸ James Jenkins, *Experience, Labours, and Sufferings of Rev. James Jenkins, of the South Carolina Conference* (n.p., 1842), pp. 106-107.

⁶⁹ Dr. John Dickson to Mitchell King, Aug. 11, 1831, King Papers.

⁷⁰ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 209.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 210; *Lancaster Ledger*, Sept. 1, 1858.

one for the gentlemen. The dressing rooms were only bare wooden cubicles with one straw-bottomed chair and no mat, couch, or table. Here the bather was attended by a Negro, who brought only one towel. It seemed to Buckingham that time hung heavy on the guests, some of whom he found playing cards in the bar at ten in the morning, while others lounged about drinking or betting on the game. The season was not at its height, he admitted; that came at the end of August, when there were between four and five hundred guests at the hotel.⁷² Then, according to another writer, they flocked to the resort from different sections, "gay promenaders" filling the piazza, children in "bright fanciful costumes" frolicking on the lawn, and romantic couples strolling "'at dewy morn and mellow eve' . . . along the picturesque banks of the beautiful French Broad."⁷³ Other pastimes were dancing, billiards, music, hunting, and fishing.

Frederick A. Porcher, who stopped at the Warm Springs about this time, described the rivalry for leadership in the ballroom and on the drive in which he played a part. When Porcher arrived with John Wilkes and Andrew Johnston, of Charleston, the governor of the ballroom was Richard S. Cogdell, of Charleston, "who piqued himself upon the elegance of his manners," and the dictator of the drive was Edward Carew, who had a carriage and pair of horses. But Wilkes, who had the use of the horses and carriages of both Johnston and Porcher in addition to his own, easily maneuvered Carew out of his position and even took over the ballroom from Cogdell.⁷⁴ According to the editor of the *Asheville Spectator*, who visited them in 1858, the Warm Springs, then owned by Dr. J. A. McDowell, offered more attractions to the pleasure-seekers "than probably any watering-place in the South—certainly in this section."⁷⁵ The Springs were said to be visited annually by a large number of the fashionable and the sickly from all the Southern states and to have no superior as a resort in any state, especially in the latter part of the summer. The correspondent of the *Lancaster Ledger* reported in the issue of September 1, 1858, that there were a good many visitors at the Springs, but that the establishment was not crowded.⁷⁶

⁷² Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 202 ff.

⁷³ John Marchmont [Mrs. Celina E. Means], *Thirty-four Years, An American Story of Southern Life* (Philadelphia, 1878), pp. 60-61.

⁷⁴ Porcher Memoirs, chap. x.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Colton, *Mountain Scenery*, pp. 79-81.

⁷⁶ It was said to have comfortable accommodations for more than 250 (*ibid.*, p. 81).

Warm Springs was served by W. P. Blair's French Broad Stage Line, said to be one of the best in the country, which left Asheville at 5:30 A.M. and reached the Springs in time for dinner.⁷⁷ The fare for this run of some thirty-five miles was three dollars. In making the run, the stage followed an excellent turnpike, well supplied with good public houses and scenery.⁷⁸ The latter was thus described by the *Spectator's* editor:

For nearly thirty miles the high frowning mountains press themselves into the waters of the French Broad River, leaving on one side a track hardly wide enough for a carriage-way. Suddenly the southwest bank recedes, and a level plain, of considerable extent, meets the traveller's eye. Near the middle . . . is a lovely grove, in which is seen the hotel. A few yards in front roll on, in unceasing turbulence, the long pent-up waters of the French Broad.⁷⁹

Not more than ten steps from the pure, cool, freestone waters of the river were the springs, some half dozen of them, which ranged in temperature from 95° to 105°. Their crystal clear and heavy waters were said to be a palatable beverage and a cure for palsy, rheumatism, and cutaneous diseases.⁸⁰

Other North Carolina watering places that attracted South Carolinians were Catawba Springs, Rocky River Springs, and Shocco Springs. Catawba Springs, in Lincoln County, twenty-four miles northwest of Charlotte, was already an established resort when Charles Jugnot became proprietor in 1825. He explained in his advertisement in the *Camden Southern Chronicle*, May 14, that he did not consider it necessary to say anything about "the mineral virtues of the water," because "the effects are known to a great portion of the public who formerly resorted to this establishment." Among those resorting to these Springs the following year were Mr. and Mrs. James Chesnut of Mulberry Plantation and Camden, who spent three weeks there in June.⁸¹ South Carolina patrons of this resort were not exclusively Camdenites, however; according to Porcher, it was traditional for Pineville people to visit Catawba Springs.⁸²

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 117.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 84.

⁷⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸⁰ The Poinsetts tried the waters of the Warm Springs for rheumatism in the summer of 1849 but returned to Greenville unbenefited (Poinsett to Kemble, Oct. 26, 1849, *Calendar of Poinsett Papers*, p. 227).

⁸¹ James Chesnut to Richard Singleton, June 25, 1826, Richard Singleton Papers, 1782-1865 (Duke University Library).

⁸² Porcher *Memoirs*, chap. ix.

Middle-country South Carolinians went to the Rocky River Springs, about thirty miles above Cheraw, South Carolina. General David Rogerson Williams (1776-1830), of Society Hill, retired to these Springs every summer after about 1805; he had his own house, billiard table, deer hounds, and the company of congenial neighbors from the Great Pee Dee River.⁸³ The Reverend James Clement Furman, pastor of the Welsh Neck Baptist Church at Society Hill, visited Rocky River Springs in 1834 for his health.⁸⁴

A large hotel was built at Shocco Springs about 1835.⁸⁵ By 1858 the hotel and its cabins, it was said, could "pleasantly accommodate" four hundred guests.⁸⁶ On July 2, S. D. Sessums, the proprietor, informed the readers of the *Charleston Courier* of the seasonal opening of "this gay and fashionable watering place—the pride of the State." He noted among the improvements made since the preceding season the frescoing of the parlor, hall, and ballroom "by the celebrated artist, Mr. Benjamin A. Richardson"; he announced for July 7 a balloon ascension by the New Orleans aeronaut, Monsieur Morat, followed in the evening by "a grand display of Fireworks" and a ball and party. Of these Warren County Springs, Colton wrote in 1859:

For those who do not feel inclined to visit the Mountains, or who are in search of pleasure more than health, North Carolina offers, in her more eastern section, the far-famed and much-resorted-to Shocco Springs. This very fashionable watering place is crowded, year after year, by the gay, the fashionable, and the staid, from every Southern State. Its proprietor furnishes every facility for the comfort or amusement of his guests. The waters are of a valuable medicinal character; but, we believe, it is more a resort for the seeker of pleasure than health.⁸⁷

The progress to the spas reached its climax at the thermal and varicolored sulphur springs of Virginia. Of long standing and wide reputation were the Warm Springs and the Hot Springs of Bath County, the particular resorts of invalids; and the White Sulphur Springs of Greenbrier County and the Sweet Springs of Monroe

⁸³ H. T. Cook, *Life and Legacy of David Rogerson Williams* (New York, 1916), pp. 144, 211.

⁸⁴ Cook, *James Clement Furman*, p. 40.

⁸⁵ *N. C. Guide*, p. 480.

⁸⁶ John J. Moorman, M.D., *The Virginia Springs and Springs of the South and West* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 388.

⁸⁷ Colton, *Mountain Scenery*, pp. 107-108.

County, the alpha and omega of those who made the circuit for pleasure if not for health. Other springs favored by South Carolinians were the Salt Sulphur, the Red Sulphur, the Gray Sulphur, and the Rockbridge Alum Springs.

The Virginia Warm Springs were the property of Dr. John Brockenbrough, of Richmond, who resided there with his family and thereby lent tone and charm to the place.⁸⁸ These Springs were patronized by aristocratic valetudinarians from Tidewater in the years following the Revolution. There, in 1818, Colonel William Alston, of Clifton-on-Waccamaw, met Thomas Jefferson.⁸⁹ Richard Singleton, son of John Singleton of Sumter District, began his long association with the Virginia springs at "the Warm" that same year. In later years he and his wife went there regularly every summer from the White. Another regular patron was James Chesnut.⁹⁰ Featherstonhaugh, who visited the Warm Springs in August, 1834, wrote of staying at "a tolerably large hotel," kept by a Colonel Fry, "an old inhabitant of the valley" and "a very worthy personage, who is much respected here." He described the hotel as "an awkward, ill-finished, ill-furnished building," with a long, low-ceilinged dining room, a public parlor so small that it could not contain a quarter of the company, and a few "moderate-sized bed-rooms," which provided indifferent accommodations for families while single persons were accommodated in wooden cabins. The fare, he declared, was plentiful, if not altogether palatable, there being an abundance of overcooked meat, good pastry, and excellent ice-cooled milk. The servants, who were all slaves, were bad and too few for the crowd that sometimes assembled. The chief attractions were the ballroom, presided over by Colonel Fry and his son, and the public bath, used alternately every two hours by the men and the women, beginning at four in the morning.⁹¹ According to another visitor at this time, the principal amusement besides bathing was ninepins, at which she found a party playing on the green; others diverted themselves with quoits.⁹² A third visitor reported that the resort's means

⁸⁸ William Burke, M.D., *The Virginia Mineral Springs* (2nd ed.; Richmond, 1853), pp. 214-215.

⁸⁹ Ravenel, *Charleston*, p. 433.

⁹⁰ Perceval Reniers, *The Springs of Virginia. Life, Love, and Death at the Waters, 1775-1900* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1941), pp. 54, 58, 149.

⁹¹ George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States, from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico; with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices* (2 vols.; London, 1844), I, 26 ff.

⁹² Mark Pencil [Mary M. Hagner], *The White Sulphur Papers; or, Life at the Springs of Western Virginia* (New York, 1839), p. 20.

of amusement consisted of "a bagatelle table entirely used up, a ten-pin alley with three wooden balls of different sizes, not round; and the Warm Springs Mountain to walk or ride up and down."⁹³ Warm Springs continued popular but comparatively small even in later years, its accommodations as late as 1850 being sufficient for only about 130 guests.⁹⁴

Five miles from the Warm Springs were the Hot Springs, where Thomas Bullitt, a frontier militiaman, built a hotel soon after 1765.⁹⁵ These springs were known as "Little Warm Springs," after their more fashionable neighbor, until they were acquired in 1832 by Dr. Thomas Goode.⁹⁶ This "intelligent physician" was reported to be "using great exertion and investing much money to render the establishment pleasant to travelers, and comfortable and useful to valetudinarians."⁹⁷ The presence of the latter, particularly "the halt and the lame," was not conducive to a prolonged stay on the part of the pleasure-seeker.⁹⁸ The Hot Springs proved beneficial to the health of Mrs. Poinsett, who was there with her husband in 1838 at the time of President Van Buren's tour of the Virginia Springs.⁹⁹ Dr. William Burke wrote in 1853 that the visitors were mostly invalids, who did not display much gaiety but expressed little ennui. At that time the Hot Springs establishment, with its porticoed two-story frame building, two hundred feet long, and its cabins of wood and brick, could accommodate comfortably 120 persons and had taken in as many as 140. The fare was said to be excellent and the baths popular. Of the latter, there were six, including the "Boiler," a pool covered by a "large and badly contrived frame house," which was partitioned to form separate baths and sweat rooms for the two sexes. Bathing in common not being practiced at these Springs, considerable delay occurred during the height of the season at the preferred hours from 11 A.M. to 2 P.M., especially at the Ladies' and Gentleman's Hot Spouts.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Peregrine Prolix [Philip H. Nicklin], ed., *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs, the Roads Leading Thereto and the Doings Thereat* (2nd ed.; Philadelphia, 1837), p. 29.

⁹⁴ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, p. 236.

⁹⁵ WPA, Writers' Program, *Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York, 1940), p. 605.

⁹⁶ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 46, 74.

⁹⁷ Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, p. 80.

⁹⁸ Pencil [Hagner], *White Sulphur Papers*, p. 20.

⁹⁹ J. R. Poinsett, Hot Springs, to Dr. Joseph Johnson, Charleston, Sept. 24, 1838, in *Calendar of Poinsett Papers*, p. 74.

¹⁰⁰ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, p. 238.

The first hotel at the Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs developed out of the tavern built in 1808 by James Calwell, who had purchased an interest in the establishment.¹⁰¹ He became sole proprietor in 1816. From that time "the White" began to grow in size and reputation like a boom town. Its fame reached the ears of prospective visitors before they arrived; even when not to the good, it seemed to attract more often than repel them. Reporting on this fact, Featherstonhaugh, a visitor in 1834, declared:

We had heard . . . many rumours relating to the White Sulphur Springs, which—notwithstanding their *great* celebrity at a distance—were of an unpromising character; we had been told that the establishment was full to repletion—that all persons were refused accommodation, whatever their respectability . . . , unless they brought horses and carriages . . . to augment the sum total of expenditure. . . . Persons . . . of the greatest worth, seeking relief from the waters, and who came in the stage-coach because they would not destroy a good equipage and horses in a long journey of five or six hundred miles, were said to be turned away without ceremony, or directed to farmhouses in the neighbourhood, under strong promises to provide quarters for them the next day; and were thus kept *de die in diem* with renewed promises and lying excuses until their patience was exhausted. In addition . . . we were told that if you did get in, you were poisoned and embittered by a filth, a confusion, a want of common honesty, and a total want of personal comfort, that rendered the days and nights equally horrible.¹⁰²

Such was his own experience from the time he arrived on August 12 with his wife and son and presented himself before Major Baylis Anderson, "the Metternich of this wonderful establishment," to whom Calwell had delegated its entire management, until they left a fortnight later. Featherstonhaugh described the establishment, "which has very much the air of a permanent Methodist camp-meeting," as "a pack of unpromising looking huts, or cabins," which surrounded "an oblong square, with a foot walk in the center, railed off from a grassy plot on each side of it." The walk descended to the colonnaded spring. From here could be seen other rows of cabins, mostly of an inferior kind, although there were a few com-

¹⁰¹ William Alexander MacCorkle, *The White Sulphur Springs. The Traditions, History, and Social Life of the Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs* (New York, 1916), p. 53.

¹⁰² Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 50 ff.

fortable-looking ones belonging to genteel Virginia families.¹⁰³ The grand dining saloon, "where daily between three and four hundred persons assemble," was in a "miserable-looking sort of barrack, badly constructed of wood, with a dilapidated portico," which was located to the left of the entrance to the grounds. He wrote that the kitchen was a dark, cavernous-looking place, with dirt and offal of every sort thrown upon the floor. The servants were a worthless pack of free blacks, who wasted half of everything, and thus caused the proprietor, whose annual profits were said to exceed \$30,000, to economize to the discomfort of his guests, while the house servants and the 150 private servants, whose masters paid only half rates for them, got the choicest morsels and consumed more than their masters. The social and natural attractions appealed more to Featherstonhaugh, and he averred that if cleanliness and order prevailed, White Sulphur Springs would be the most delightful watering place he had visited in the United States.

Others who visited "the White" during the height of the season attested to the crowds who flocked to and filled the establishment and to the many who were daily turned away to temporary quarters or other spas to await their turn or chance for accommodations.¹⁰⁴ Many improvements were made at White Sulphur Springs in the next few years.¹⁰⁵ A large hotel, the Masten House, was built in 1835. The dining hall was enlarged; and new rows of cottages with ornamental verandas were completed. Among these cottages was Carolina Row, which fronted on the walk from the spring.¹⁰⁶ Four large brick buildings on the hill beyond Paradise Row were reported to be occupied by Carolinians.

A notable figure at the White Sulphur Springs was Colonel Richard Singleton, Sumter District planter. Colonel Singleton and his family had been visiting the Springs every summer since 1820, when Mrs. Singleton spent seventeen days there for her health with beneficial results. As a result of making loans to the eccentric but ingratiating proprietor, the Colonel acquired a financial as well as a

¹⁰³ The owners of private cottages built them or bought them from Calwell and paid him regular rates while occupying them, in order to be sure of accommodations when they arrived. When the owners were not in residence, the proprietor rented their cottages to others (Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, p. 57).

¹⁰⁴ Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, p. 31; Pencil [Hagner], *White Sulphur Papers*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ MacCorkle, *White Sulphur Springs*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁶ Pencil [Hagner], *White Sulphur Papers*, p. 25.

social interest in the establishment. In August, 1825, the Singletons occupied their newly built cottage, which stood in solitary sophistication between the ballroom building and Carolina Row, and won the praise of visitors, to whom it was especially pointed out. By this time the Singletons were social leaders at White Sulphur, to which they came in June, a family of seven with three servants, traveling in their new carriage and chariote by way of Asheville and Abingdon—a shorter and cooler route than the one previously followed. After a week at the White Sulphur, they went to the Sweet Springs for a week, then returned to the White, where they remained until the middle of September, when they left for the Warm Springs and, eventually, home.¹⁰⁷

Not so taken with the White Sulphur Springs were the Alexander Wilsons, of Charleston, who, giving little credence to the unfavorable reports of the place they heard on their way, arrived on July 26, 1831, to spend a fortnight there for Mrs. Wilson's health. Disgusted and nauseated before night, they were ready to leave, but were constrained to stay by the lack of any other accommodations in the vicinity.¹⁰⁸ Robert DeVeaux, of St. John's, Berkeley, arriving on the twenty-seventh from the University of Virginia, found the White Sulphur Springs dull until he got started on the round of social life and met some really attractive women, among them Colonel Singleton's sixteen-year-old daughter Marion, whom he afterwards married.¹⁰⁹ Among those at "the White" the next year was "the famous international dandy, Arthur Middleton of Charleston, in a screaming check suit and a velvet shirt that had stunned New York and a full set of whiskers and mustachios."¹¹⁰ George McDuffie, member of Congress from South Carolina, came there in August, 1834.¹¹¹ In 1837 Colonel Singleton and General Wade Hampton II were building newer and finer cottages.¹¹²

To the White Sulphur in 1845, after a brief stay at the Warm Springs, James Louis Petigru, of Charleston, brought his ailing daughter Caroline, the wife of William Augustus Carson, of Dean Hall, St. John's, Berkeley, accompanied by her son and a nurse. They were shown special favor by Proprietor Calwell; Mrs. Carson was called upon by Mrs. Singleton and Mrs. Bull Pringle, while

¹⁰⁷ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 50, 56 f.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77, 84.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Petigru enjoyed the brilliant and congenial society. Later in the summer they followed the Singletons to the Sweet Springs. Both Petigru and Singleton were in financial straits and proceeded to the Springs on credit. The Colonel's difficulties increased, and he suffered other losses in 1849, including that of his wife. But he continued to come to the Springs through force of habit, however, his last summer there being that of 1852, when he again had the company of Petigru, who this time brought his daughter Sue and Mrs. Petigru.¹¹³

By 1852 White Sulphur Springs had accommodations for some seven hundred visitors.¹¹⁴ The dining hall was still "a one-story unsightly frame building," which, with the adjacent ballroom, served a utilitarian rather than an artistic purpose, marring the beauty of the landscape. The lodgings were said to be generally comfortable and well supplied with the requisite furniture; the baths were fitted up with a neatness that removed the inconvenience hitherto the subject of complaint. The next year the establishment, which was still in the control of the Calwells, was taken over by the White Sulphur Springs Company, and construction of a huge new main building was begun.¹¹⁵ At the height of the season of 1855 a correspondent of the *Charleston Daily Courier* wrote from Warm Springs:

We did intend to proceed from this place to the White Sulphur, but having learned that crowds . . . are daily turned off from that fashionable resort, where 1200 persons are congregated, crowded and half-starved, we have determined to visit the Sweet Springs, next in order. . . .¹¹⁶

The Sweet Springs, seventeen miles from the White Sulphur, were resorted to as early as 1764 and opened as a watering place in 1792. The first hotel, built by William Lewis, had seventy-two rooms and seventy-two fireplaces but no baths.¹¹⁷ In 1794 H. W. DeSaussure of Charleston visited these Springs for his health.¹¹⁸ John Singleton, of Midway Plantation, Sumter District, was there in July, 1818. Seeking relief for his malaria-ridden body, he had traveled for three weeks to reach the Springs in order to try the water; but

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 163 f., 170 f.

¹¹⁴ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, p. 40.

¹¹⁵ MacCorkle, *White Sulphur Springs*, pp. 56-57.

¹¹⁶ *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 20, 1855.

¹¹⁷ WPA, Writers' Program, *West Virginia, A Guide to the Mountain State* (New York, 1941), p. 452.

¹¹⁸ O'Neill, *Bench and Bar*, I, 244.

he nearly died from dosing himself with it, and, as soon as he was able, set out in his coach for home by way of Staunton, Richmond, Fayetteville, and Charleston—a journey of some 750 miles over rocky mountain and corduroy swamp roads—to rely henceforth on the doctors and the bark. In reaching this decision, Singleton had the advice of Colonel William Alston, who was at Sweet Springs with his family that summer. Visitors in later years were Mrs. Charlotte Allston, of Georgetown, and F. A. Porcher.¹¹⁹

As early as 1825 there could be found at these Springs some 250 visitors, among them the elite of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Maryland, accommodated in a “parcel of rude huts” with “indifferent beds” and served the “plainest possible fare.” Even these meager accommodations, however, were equal to those at White Sulphur Springs or Warm Springs, which, with the Old Sweet Springs, “were then the only places of any note in that region.”¹²⁰ Sweet Springs reached its height as a resort after 1833, when the Lewises built a larger hotel. Based on a design by Jefferson, it was a three-story red brick structure with a flagstone promenade and veranda running the full length of the building. Across the semicircular blue-grass lawn, ornamented with flower beds and tall trees, were the springs and swimming pool.¹²¹ Here, in August, 1834, came Featherstonhaugh and found it “a tranquil and agreeable resting-place” where he and his family could “recover from the disgust we had experienced at the White Sulphur.” Their cabin, though old and rude, was roomy and watertight; and they had no disagreeable neighbors. The food was clean and good, as well as plentiful; and “this general plenty and cleanliness and the constant obligingness” of the proprietor, Philip Rogers, soon put them “into capital good humour again with everybody and everything in this charming district.”¹²² This hospitality, together with the fact that many here renewed old associations begun on their tour of the springs, made “the Sweet” in later years “the gayest of all the Mineral Springs.”¹²³

The near-by Salt Sulphur Springs and Red Sulphur Springs enjoyed a similar reputation for cleanliness and abundance. Salt Sulphur Springs, twenty-two miles from Sweet Springs, was opened in 1823 with a two-story colonial style main building and slave quar-

¹¹⁹ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 48-49, 44, 122.

¹²⁰ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, p. 177.

¹²¹ *West Virginia Guide*, p. 452.

¹²² Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 97-98.

¹²³ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, pp. 180-181.

ters. After the erection in 1830 of stone wings, this building had ninety-eight rooms in addition to a spacious ballroom and a dining room. Board walks, flanked with dense growths of shrubbery, led across the landscaped lawn to the banks of Indian Creek and the three springs.¹²⁴ Alexander Wilson, of Charleston, came here with his wife in 1831 from the Red Sulphur and spent a fortnight before going on to the White Sulphur Springs.¹²⁵ No doubt they felt at home there. A visitor in 1834 wrote:

There is a row of pretty new cabins, with piazzas in front joining each other, thus forming a covered walk of considerable length for rainy or sunny weather. This is called Nullification Row, in honour of a certain gallant little state, and was occupied by a number of agreeable South Carolinians of the Union Party.¹²⁶

In July of the following year several visitors from South Carolina signed a testimonial to the owners of the Salt Sulphur Springs.¹²⁷ At these Springs Porcher met John Harleston, Judge Huger, Dr. Benjamin Huger, and the Poinsetts.¹²⁸ Colonel Chesnut described the company there in 1843 as "an agreeable mixture of all kinds of people (except the haughty and presuming) of these there are none, tho' many Carolinians." In August, 1855, a magnificent grand fancy ball in which a large number of South Carolinians participated was held at Salt Sulphur.¹²⁹

"The South Carolinians," wrote Burke, "who understand comfort as well as perhaps any other people on this continent, found out this place long ago, and they come to it every season in considerable numbers." He declared that at no other mountain resort was the society more select, charming, and intellectual than at the Salt Sulphur, where gayety and happiness seemed to reside and were rarely intruded upon by the presence of the very ill.¹³⁰ By this time (1853), the buildings, which consisted of the frame hotel, two stone

¹²⁴ *West Virginia Guide*, p. 382.

¹²⁵ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, p. 62.

¹²⁶ Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, p. 58.

¹²⁷ The testimonial, given in Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, pp. 164-166, was signed by the Reverend Benjamin M. Palmer, James Chesnut, S. T. Gaillard, J. B. Grimball, William Bones, John Harleston, Francis D. Quash, Orlando S. Rees, J. B. Billysley, F. Pinckney Lowndes, and Samuel N. Stevens.

¹²⁸ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, p. 147.

¹²⁹ *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 29, 1855.

¹³⁰ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, p. 152. According to Reniers (*Springs of Virginia*, p. 146), the South Carolinians "outnumbered the Virginians three or four to one," the count one summer being 136 to 40.

houses, and several ranges of cabins, could accommodate 350; but the indulgent proprietors, Erskine and Caruthers, took a smaller number and "spoiled" them by giving them "elbow room." Burke testified from his own experience "to the uniform kindness of the hosts, the excellent, indeed sumptuous fare, the neatness and comfort of the bed-chambers, and the general good order" at this delightful summer retreat, which for thirty years had been "famous for good living."

Seventeen miles from the Salt Sulphur Springs were the Red Sulphur Springs.¹³¹ The medical value of these springs was attested to by many, including "a distinguished physician of South Carolina," who spent the summer there in 1822, 1823, and 1824.¹³² In 1832 this resort was purchased by Dr. William Burke, who began an ambitious building program.¹³³ A visitor at the Red Sulphur Springs in 1834 was General Joseph Waties Allston, of All Saints, Waccamaw, who died there on August 13.¹³⁴ Another South Carolinian, Mrs. Hannah Lide Coker, of Darlington District, making the round of the Springs in 1835, found the Red Sulphur the most pleasant of all. In a letter to the Rev. J. C. Furman on September 5, she wrote:

The visitors here are, for the most part, gay and thoughtless, though we have met with a few who appear to be truly pious, whose society we enjoy very much; but we have not, as yet, come across the good Baptist minister you spoke of, nor indeed any Baptist at all. We have heard but two sermons since we reached the Springs, one . . . from Dr. Palmer of Charleston and the other from a Methodist minister at the Warm Springs. . . . The company is now quite small, though it has been rather larger than it was last summer; departures are frequent and arrivals are seldom.¹³⁵

At these Springs, in 1839, Buckingham met several friends from Charleston.¹³⁶ As a result of Dr. Burke's building program, the accommodations at Red Sulphur ranked next to those at White Sulphur in extent. This resort offered such special attractions as a social

¹³¹ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, pp. 85-86.

¹³² Moorman, *Virginia Springs*, p. 209.

¹³³ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 74, 96 f.; Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, pp. 85-86.

¹³⁴ Rev. J. E. H. Galbraith, copyist, "All Saints Waccamaw. Mural Tablets and Tombstone Inscriptions," *SCHGM*, XIII (July, 1912), 166.

¹³⁵ Cook, *James Clement Furman*, pp. 47-48.

¹³⁶ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 307.

hall, a continuous piazza of 475 feet (from Philadelphia Row to Carolina House), a well-ventilated ballroom, a carpeted drawing room, and a menu that included ice cream every day. Despite the doctor's efforts to make the Red a mecca and a paradise for invalids, it was never crowded, and its proprietor, who had borrowed heavily to finance his enterprise, was sold out by the sheriff.¹³⁷

The road from the Red Sulphur to the Gray Sulphur Springs, according to Nicklin, who traveled it in September, 1834, was good, but so hilly that it took three hours to cover the nine miles between the two spas. He reported that the Gray Sulphur was "a new establishment grown up by magic since the first of June last" and belonging to John D. Legaré, of South Carolina, "a gentleman of established literary talent, who by his great enterprise and good taste had made this lovely wilderness blossom . . . , and bring forth the fruits of civilization and comfort." A new brick building stood near the middle of a gently sloping twenty-acre plain encircled by forest-covered mountains. Here everything was "conducted after the polished and agreeable manner of South Carolina," from which state a congenial little company was usually to be found at Gray Sulphur. Such continued to be the rule with the passing of the years, as the accommodations and the patronage increased.¹³⁸

South Carolinians were accustomed to turn homeward from the Salt or the Red or the Gray Sulphur instead of returning to the Warm Springs to complete the circuit.¹³⁹ They also patronized the Rockbridge Alum Springs, which, despite fire and changes of ownership, were slowly developing into a fashionable watering place in these later years. There, in August, 1855, the correspondent of the *Charleston Daily Courier* found people from Charleston and other sections of South Carolina among the company of some three hundred then present and comfortably quartered in the substantial brick buildings.¹⁴⁰ These buildings were arranged in a circle around the springs and presided over by the polished and attentive proprietors, Frazier and Randolph. Colonel Hayne, of Charleston, was said to be the established favorite of the ladies at these Springs in 1858. That year the John Izard Middletons, of Georgetown, also lent prestige to the establishment by their presence.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 98, 173.

¹³⁸ Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, pp. 63, 65.

¹³⁹ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁰ *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 7, 1855.

¹⁴¹ "M. J. W.," "Life at the Rockbridge Alum Springs," *Charleston Courier*, July 15, 1858; July 30, 1858.

Rivaling even Virginia's White Sulphur Springs as a fashionable resort for South Carolina low-country planters was Saratoga Springs in New York. As early as the first years of the nineteenth century, Saratoga and its pioneer but soon-overshadowed neighbor, Ballston Spa, were being recommended to "invalids of elegance and opulence" in the South.¹⁴² In the summer of 1818 Judge Henry William DeSaussure spent a few weeks at Ball's Town Springs (Ballston Spa), while spending the summer with his family at Morristown, New Jersey, the home of his wife's people.¹⁴³ Saratoga by this time had two resort hotels: Union Hall, built in 1802, and the Congress Hotel, completed in 1811. In 1824 the United States Hotel was opened; in the 1830's the railroad came to Saratoga and Ballston.¹⁴⁴

Among the fellow-guests of Christopher Jenkins, of Edisto Island, during his stay at Saratoga in 1826 were a number of low-country people, including the Frederick Rutledges, the W. Mikell Seabrooks, the Chisholms, the Dalchos, and Mr. Baynard.¹⁴⁵ Alwyn and Elias Ball and the Haskells made excursions to Saratoga from Newport in the summers of 1829 and 1830.¹⁴⁶ B. F. Perry, who visited Saratoga in the summer of 1846 and found some South Carolinians there, reported that there were about five hundred persons at his hotel and some thousands at the others. "The world seems congregated here," he added.¹⁴⁷ Visitors in 1847 and 1848 were L. A. Taveau and his daughter Rosalie, who came there after a sojourn at Sharon Springs in Schoharie County, some fifty miles southwest of Saratoga. Taveau wrote that they were "taking the Sulphur Watter" and benefiting by it, so that their complexions would be like "a lily" when they reached Charleston. He reported that three hundred people dined every day at the hotel at Sharon Springs, while at the United States Hotel at Saratoga there were nine hundred

¹⁴² WPA, Writers' Program, *New York, A Guide to the Empire State* (New York, 1940), p. 14.

¹⁴³ DeSaussure to Henry D. A. Ward, July 30, 1818, H. W. DeSaussure Papers.

¹⁴⁴ *New York Guide*, p. 81; Hugh Bradley, *Such Was Saratoga* (New York, 1940), pp. 48, 53-54, 70-71, 89.

¹⁴⁵ Jenkins to his wife, July 13, 1826, quoted in Rosser H. Taylor, *Antebellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1942), p. 106.

¹⁴⁶ E. O. Ball to John Ball, July 14, 1829, and H. S. Ball to J. Ball, July 26, 1830, Ball Papers.

¹⁴⁷ Perry to his wife, July 23, 1846, *Letters of Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry to His Wife*, 2nd Series (Greenville, 1890), p. 107.

diners, of whom two hundred lodged outside the hotel. From Saratoga, the Taveaus went on to Lake George, Lake Champlain, the White Mountains, Portland, Boston, Newport, and New York.¹⁴⁸

Poinsett informed his friend Kemble in June, 1851, that he and his wife had been drinking the waters at Saratoga for a week and were improved in health.¹⁴⁹ Later that summer they went to Sharon Springs, from which they planned an excursion to Niagara Falls with Dr. and Mrs. John E. Holbrook, of Charleston, and a visit to Mrs. Poinsett's sisters at Newport. In August and September they were at Avon, in Livingston County below Rochester, whither Mrs. Poinsett had gone for the bathing in the springs, only to be taken ill.¹⁵⁰ A considerable number of South Carolinians from Charleston and the low country were at Saratoga in 1858.¹⁵¹ In these later years the political atmosphere at Saratoga and other Northern resorts was not altogether congenial to Southerners, although they tended to remain in a rather close circle of their own kin and kind. Many a Southerner and Northerner, infected by "the fever of sectional excitement," observed but the coldest formalities whenever they chanced to meet. A few, however, continued to maintain cordial relations, as did the Aikens of South Carolina with Cornelius Vanderbilt and A. T. Stewart.¹⁵² Moreover, New York's repeal of the "slave sojournment law," together with the passage of the Personal Liberty Law and the opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act, increased the difficulties of the planters in bringing North the necessary servants to attend their families and the horses they displayed at the

¹⁴⁸ Rosalie Taveau to A. L. Taveau, Aug. 5, 1847; L. A. Taveau to A. L. Taveau, Aug. 6, 1848, Taveau Papers.

¹⁴⁹ Poinsett to Kemble, June 29, 1851, *Calendar of Poinsett Papers*, p. 235.

¹⁵⁰ *Idem* to *idem*, July 11, Aug. 20, 26, 30, Sept. 1, 3, 6, 9, 15, 19, 1851, *ibid.*, pp. 236-239.

¹⁵¹ In the Charleston *Daily Courier* of Aug. 19, the following list appeared:

S. Mowry and daughter	W. P. Ingraham and son
James Tupper and daughter	J. J. Mikell and lady
Frederick Tupper	R. A. Clarke and lady
Evan Edwards	John Gibbon
J. R. Simonton	H. D. Wells
Henry Missroon and son	Mrs. Mary Wells
Robert Caldwell and family	John McKeegan and lady
R. A. Pringle and lady	H. T. Street and lady
Robert Pringle	G. S. Roux
T. J. Moise	David Leland
J. S. Riggs and lady	Mrs. and Miss Sailor
Rev. J. R. Kendrick and lady	

¹⁵² Bradley, *Such Was Saratoga*, p. 131.

Oklahoma Track.¹⁵³ Therefore, some gave up their Northern travels, but others kept on coming, and only the Civil War itself stopped them.

The great similarity in the activities at the various Springs, whether they were in the Carolinas or Virginia or New York, permits of a generalized treatment, with some reference to particular resorts by way of illustration. The differences were of degree rather than of kind. Life at the spas was largely routine and, for the pleasure seekers, who were in the majority at most of them, gay and lively. Buckingham's observation that "the sojourners at these Springs were so listless and trifling that they lost time rather than killed it,"¹⁵⁴ does not seem to be borne out by a recital of the round of activities engaged in by many. According to Mary M.^{*} Hagner, amusements at White Sulphur were varied, and the days went by very rapidly for those who were determined to enjoy themselves.¹⁵⁵ The daily schedule at "the White" may serve as a type.¹⁵⁶

The morning began with a visit to the spring to drink and converse for an hour before breakfast. Featherstonhaugh described the scene there as it appeared to him at White Sulphur in 1834. The spring, he wrote, was

surrounded by a small colonnade, with seats around it, generally filled by persons, many of whom are indifferently dressed, and are constantly smoking and spitting. Others are quietly waiting with emaciated sallow faces, made ghastly with fever and ague, until the time comes to drink another glass of the sulphuretted water, the gaseous affluvium of which extends far around. A few paces from this is another reservoir of the water, surrounded with a curb-stone, where the negro servants assemble and drink in imitation of their

¹⁵³ A correspondent of the *New York Evening Mirror* at Saratoga in 1855, noting the absence of Southern sojourners, including "the sunny-eyed daughter of Carolina, graceful as the palms that shade her native plains," answered his own question of why they were not there, as follows: "The Northern Abolitionists who steal the nurses, body servants, and coachmen from Southern families, are cheating our hotels and merchants of Southern custom, and our watering place society of the beaux and belles who were wont to grace it. We learn that all the popular summer resorts south of Mason and Dixon's line, are full this summer to overflowing. Such is the effect of fanaticism." Quoted in Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), p. 297.

¹⁵⁴ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 196.

¹⁵⁵ Pencil [Hagner], *White Sulphur Papers*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30. It is followed in the ensuing account, supplemented by the sources hereinafter cited.

masters, and out of which water is dipped for the . . . horses in the contiguous stables.¹⁵⁷

Another visitor declared that "the greatest charm of this place is the delightful society which is drawn together in every agreeable variety by its health-restoring spring."¹⁵⁸ Breakfast was at eight o'clock. At the White Sulphur and the Warm Springs even this meal was likely to consist of heavy and coarse foods and to be accompanied by considerable confusion;¹⁵⁹ at the Salt and Gray Sulphur Springs it consisted principally of rice, corn and white cakes or bread, hominy, and fine milk and butter, served and partaken of in an atmosphere of "quiet deliberation."¹⁶⁰

After breakfast there was a general dispersal to plan and prepare for the amusements of the day. Some retired to their rooms or cabins to read or to write, to make ready for visitors or visiting, or to anticipate an appointed meeting. Others gathered in groups to arrange for a dinner party, a picnic, a sightseeing excursion or hike, a fishing or hunting expedition.¹⁶¹ Some went to the post office for the daily mail or to the store to shop. Others walked or rode about the grounds, the destination of not a few being a rendezvous at the Lovers Walk. Some promenaded or sat upon the portico, awaiting the arrival and departure of guests. At White Sulphur they might include "a knot of fashionables" with "cigar in mouth, hair smooth, beard combed."¹⁶² On the portico at Warm Springs, Featherstonhaugh found "a number of queer-looking ladies, with and without tournures, corseted up in all sorts of ways, and their hair dressed in every possible form," and an even greater number of gentlemen, "chewing, spitting, and smoking, with an ease that evinced their superiority, and all staring at us in the most determined manner."¹⁶³ Others assembled in the public rooms for music or cards. Those who preferred more active games than whist or faro might play billiards, bowls or ninepins, quoits, and croquet. The smaller children,

¹⁵⁷ Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 55.

¹⁵⁸ Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁹ Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 31, 73.

¹⁶⁰ Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, p. 64; Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*,

p. 152.

¹⁶¹ Deer hunting was said to be one of the favorite amusements at White Sulphur, especially for the "Carolina gentlemen," who eagerly assembled every morning to arrange the day's hunt (Pencil [Hagner], *White Sulphur Papers*, p. 54).

¹⁶² Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, p. 45.

¹⁶³ Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 27-28.

left in the charge of their nurses, would play about the grounds and wait for the visit of the Cake Man. Finally, many of the guests worked or played at "taking the Cure"—consulting the resident physician, exercising in the gymnasium, trying the waters and the baths. The bath at Warm Springs was popular and crowded. In recording his impressions, Featherstonhaugh, who preferred to bathe alone, wrote:

I was told that sometimes twenty women would be in it altogether, and fine fun no doubt they had, if one might judge from the laughter and noise. . . . The men, too, are not less gregarious. . . . Old sick men, young boys, husbands of charming wives, fathers of beautiful daughters, . . . mingling with the most extraordinary looking tobacco-chewing, expectorating, and villainous looking non-descripts.¹⁶⁴

Thus, for those who had not gone off for the day, was the forenoon consumed.

At twelve o'clock there was another visit to the spring, followed by a lounging hour before dinner, during the last half of which the band played on the portico. Dinner came at two o'clock. It was the occasion, especially at the White Sulphur and the Warm Springs, of a great surge toward the dining room, attended by much noise, confusion, and haste, as the guests sought their marked places at the twelve tables seating fifty each. The scene that followed—the mad scramble to be served, the vile food, the prevalence of meat eating, and the bolting—disgusted Featherstonhaugh and so turned his stomach that he left the table without eating or, more often, stayed away and ate elsewhere.¹⁶⁵ The scene changed little in later years. Dr. Burke, who blamed the guests as well as the management and declared that it could not be otherwise under the existing situation, reported

the cursing of bread, abominating the butter, detesting the coffee, disliking the tea, scolding the servants, then the galloping consumption of mutton, the clashing of knives and forks, the trotting of negroes, the forlorn looks of those neglected, and the self-satisfied air of those who are provided with private dishes.¹⁶⁶

"Only imagine," he exclaimed, "600 people in one room, all having been helped, eaten their fill, and wiped their mouths in 20 minutes."

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 37-38.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 73 ff.

¹⁶⁶ Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, pp. 50-51.

Although dinner at Warm Springs was an "awful hour" for Featherstonhaugh, there were, he found, some redeeming features; and the situation was relieved by the actions of the staff. The Negro servants ran up and down behind the guests "as rapidly as if on horseback, endeavouring to make up by activity for want of numbers, never stopping when . . . called to, and giving you no chance of catching one but by sticking a fork into him." Then there was the "fat landlady, who did the honors at that eternal mass of bacon which is always the head dish at a Virginia table." Her husband, the Colonel, "very appropriately dressed in a blue check pinafore with sleeves," carved the meat at a side-table, from which he skipped, carving knife in hand, to change a lady's plate or to offer her his arm "in his most insinuating manner" the instant she arose, that he might escort her to the door.¹⁶⁷

After dinner the ladies withdrew temporarily to the drawing room for conversation and music, and the men to the bar or gaming room. Soon, however, most of them would retire for the siesta. Shortly after five o'clock activity began again. The guests were ready for their evening drive or promenade and a final visit to the spring. Then came tea time, followed by an hour of relaxation or light activity before the day's events reached their climax in the ball. There might be cards or music in the cottages or at the hotel, with occasional performances by amateur talent or by itinerant professionals;¹⁶⁸ or just a gathering on the verandas and in the drawing room to talk over the experiences of the day and to inspect the register, while the social arbiters met in majestic session. The guests then entered the ballroom for the dancing, which lasted until eleven. At White Sulphur the ball was preceded by "The Treadmill," a kind of promenade around the room joined in by all; and it was

¹⁶⁷ Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 31-33.

¹⁶⁸ Among the latter were players of various kinds, fortunetellers, and showmen. The former might be displayed in music or the spoken word. At Saratoga in 1838 a South Carolinian, Dr. Irving, undertook to divert the guests with a satirical lecture which seemed in bad taste to the English traveler Buckingham but which was sufficiently well received to encourage the lecturer to advertise another. The subject of the second lecture, for which the admission charge was fifty cents, was to be a review in the approved method of the nursery ballad of "Little Cock Robin" as a great modern epic. For comments and handbill, see Buckingham, *America, Statistic and Descriptive* (2 vols.; London, 1841), II, 446.

opened by a unique dance, the White Sulphur Riley.¹⁶⁹ Other more common dances were the German cotillion, Spanish dance, Virginia reel, quadrille, and waltz. The number of musicians varied from a single Negro fiddler to a full band or orchestra. The former was the case at Warm Springs, where Colonel Fry, the proprietor, and his son were the masters of ceremonies for the dance, forcibly escorting every lady to one of the wooden benches in the room and, as soon as enough had been assembled for a quadrille, seizing upon two of the most recently arrived guests to be their partners in opening the dance.¹⁷⁰ The players at White Sulphur, according to Featherstonhaugh, were above the average; and the refreshments contrasted favorably with the food served in the dining room.¹⁷¹ At "the White," the ball was said to be stately and ceremonious.¹⁷² About the room, however, might be seen standing certain flashily dressed professional gamblers, seeking to lure some of the young men away from the dance to their gaming-table in a house rented to them by the proprietor.¹⁷³ The day's formal activities ended at eleven o'clock, and the spas soon grew quiet except for a lover's serenade or prolonged gaiety in cottage, gaming room, or bar.¹⁷⁴

Were the next day Sunday, the routine would be somewhat modified. At most watering places there would be regular, or occasional, divine service by resident or visiting clergymen in the hotel or church, attended by a generally large and fashionable audience in outward conformity. According to reports of travelers in the 1830's, Sunday was "religiously observed" at White Sulphur Springs, where the barroom was "converted into a chapel for the nonce and the gay into the devout."¹⁷⁵ In 1839 Buckingham was present at a service performed by an Episcopal clergyman from South Carolina in the

¹⁶⁹ MacCorkle, *White Sulphur Springs*, p. 402.

¹⁷⁰ Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 33-34.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I, 80.

¹⁷² MacCorkle, *White Sulphur Springs*, p. 402.

¹⁷³ Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 79-80.

¹⁷⁴ At the White Sulphur bar, according to Featherstonhaugh (*ibid.*, I, 82), "cock tails, gin slings, gum ticklers, mint juleps, phlegm cutters, and other American sherbets, were brewed from morn to night for the crowds of spitting and swearing, cursing and coughing, smoking and stinking *reel* gentlemen that passed their time there."

¹⁷⁵ Pencil [Hagner], *White Sulphur Papers*, p. 30; Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, p. 44.

ballroom of the hotel at Red Sulphur Springs and attended by nearly all of the guests.¹⁷⁶ At the Salt Sulphur Springs services were held in the ballroom until the erection of a stone church, for which the visitors had contributed the necessary funds.¹⁷⁷

Such, then, was the routine life of those who made the progress of the spas, elaborated only on occasion by the occurrence of special events or the arrival of great personages.

¹⁷⁶ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 307.

¹⁷⁷ Prolix [Nicklin], ed., *Letters*, p. 58; Burke, *Virginia Mineral Springs*, p. 153.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: PHYSIC AND FASHION

In the years prior to 1790 the South Carolina low-country planters who left their plantations in the summer generally migrated to the coastal towns, principally Charleston, where they occupied their town houses or rented places; or they traveled in the North or in Europe. Certain other healthful retreats had already been discovered; soon after 1790 the seashore settlements and the pineland and Piedmont villages began to supplement the coastal towns as summer resorts. During the 1820's and 1830's mineral springs and mountain resorts were developed and became popular. Thereafter all the various types of resorts continued to be frequented, but their relative positions with respect to popularity and patronage were changing. Some of the older resorts, particularly the coastal towns, became less favored as summer-long retreats. The pineland and sandhill villages were still serving their useful purpose, although not retaining all their usual residents. The Piedmont villages were being used more as stopping-off places on the way to and from the mountains and springs than as places of summer residence. Some of the seashore settlements were attracting larger numbers and developing into resorts. European travel continued, and travel to the North increased, with only a slight falling off even in the years just before the Civil War. In general, there was less migrating to one residence or retreat for the whole summer and more traveling from resort to resort. This practice reached its climax in the circuit of the Virginia springs and in the Northern tours. By 1860 the most popular resorts were the beaches, the mountains, and the springs.

Forced to be absent from their plantation homes for five or six months at a time during the "sickly season," the planters had an additional incentive or excuse for traveling. Families that at first merely migrated to safer residences in order to escape the "country fever" soon began to travel in search of health or recreation, which came to include a generous amount of pleasure. Many low-country people escaped from malaria only to be stricken with a new migratory or travel fever that manifested itself in various forms. They became

confirmed travelers. They traveled far afield and regularly. An idea of the extent of their travels may be gained from a listing of the places visited by some of the travelers whose names recur in the foregoing pages.

H. W. DeSaussure, whose residence in South Carolina changed from Beaufort to Charleston to Columbia, visited the Virginia springs; Morristown, New Jersey; Newport, Rhode Island; and Ballston Spa, New York. Francis Kinloch, of Charleston and Georgetown, went to Albemarle County, Virginia, and to Newport. Cleland Kinloch, of Goose Creek and Stateburg, traveled to Newport and to Europe, as did H. A. Middleton, of Goose Creek and Charleston. L. A. Taveau, of St. John's, Berkeley, also traveled to Europe; his Northern tours included visits to New York City, Sharon Springs, Saratoga, the White Mountains, Boston, and Newport. Mrs. Taveau's summer travels took her from Charleston to Totness, Greenville, and Asheville in the Carolina up country. Various members of the Ball family of Cooper River traveled considerably, especially the younger sons of John Ball, of Kensington. They spent summers at Charleston, Sullivan's Island, and Newport; they toured the South Carolina up country; and they visited the fashionable watering places of New York. F. A. Porcher, of St. John's, not only went to Pineville, Pinopolis, and Sullivan's Island in the summer; he also traveled to the up country and on to the springs of North Carolina and Virginia. J. B. Grimbail, of St. Paul's and Charleston, visited such resorts as Edingsville, Aiken, and Glenn Springs in South Carolina; Fletcher, Asheville, and Sulphur Springs in North Carolina; and Salt Sulphur Springs in Virginia. The R. F. W. Allstons, of Georgetown, spent their summers at the seashore, in the pineland, at Charleston and Newport, and in Europe. Mr. and Mrs. Joel R. Poinsett went up from their Georgetown plantation to their summer place at Greenville and occasionally traveled on over the mountains to the springs of North Carolina and Virginia or visited the watering places in the North.

Many sought relief from the monotony or the cares of plantation life; for some the mere satisfaction of the urge to travel, the journey itself, the change of scene, and the exercise of the activity engaged in, were a cure for their complaints. Others, through sheer inertia, found or made their existence monotonous and unchanged wherever they went. For the confirmed invalid cure or relief depended on the character of his disease, his own attitude and activities, and the

place of his resort. Some valetudinarians achieved a happy combination of attitude, activities, and resorts with resulting good effects; others failed to achieve such a combination or counteracted it by an underdose or overdose. Many worked too hard at getting "the cure," especially those who made the circuit of the springs for their health.¹ A majority, at least, of those who made the circuit of the springs, as those who traveled to other resorts, were not invalids, but outright pleasure seekers who usually found what they sought. For many the search entailed considerable expense; for some, it led to extravagance and dissipation, regrets and complaints.

The effects of these migrations and travels were beneficial as well as detrimental both to the individual and to society. In their travels the low-country planter families entered new environments and made new contacts. They penetrated the physical and intellectual climate of other sections and lands. The experience should have been broadening. One writer has said that "as a result of this traveling propensity," they were "social, liberal and intelligent."² That they were "social" can quite readily be admitted. Travel in those days was necessarily slow, because of the character and condition of the means of transportation. It continued to be so, generally speaking, throughout the ante-bellum period, despite some improvements in the later years. The planters, whose difficulties were often increased by the size of their families and retinues, traveled even more leisurely, easing the hardships of a long journey by traveling in parties and by frequent stops to visit relatives and friends along the way. Then, too, at their places of resort, they found opportunities to prolong the plantation social season or to participate in and develop the activities of a more cosmopolitan society.

The generalization that South Carolina low-country planters were "liberal and intelligent" as a result of travel is open to question, or, at least, to qualification. It cannot be said that they acquired those qualities merely by traveling. Some possessed them before traveling or without traveling; others did not possess them after traveling. Some acquired them; others did not. "We were incredibly narrow," wrote Professor Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, a

¹ On this point clergyman and physician agreed, even though they did not agree as to the wisdom and effects of such a course for the pleasure seekers. See O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas*, pp. 367, 368; and Moorman, *Virginia Springs*, pp. 57-59.

² Meade Minnegerode, *The Fabulous Forties, 1840-1850* (Garden City, N. Y., 1924), p. 17.

native of Charleston, and added: "Those who could not travel were intense Charlestonians, and those who could were not much less intense."³ James Silk Buckingham thus characterizes "a rich planter from the sea-islands" whom he met at Columbia, where the planter and his family had stopped on the way to the mountains:

He was said to be worth half a million of dollars but he was as unpolished and uninformed as any man might be supposed to be, who had passed the greater portion of his life, as he told us he had among his negroes, with few books, and no disposition to consider any subject but . . . cotton; or opportunities of cultivating any other society than that of planters like himself.⁴

On the other hand, Buckingham described as "frank and intelligent gentlemen" two low-country planters whom he met at Greenville, where they spent every summer.⁵ On the train from Columbia to Charleston, the British clergyman Lewis met a planter whom he found to be "a lively, intelligent man, who expressed himself readily and fluently on every subject on which we touched—a thorough Carolinian, strong in all his Southern feelings."⁶ These anonymous individuals had their counterparts in men with proud names. There was old Benjamin Allston, shrewd, kindly, and unlettered, who, according to Porcher, "had become one of the richest planters on the Waccamaw" and a regular summer sojourner at Greenville, from which he visited Asheville and the Warm Springs.⁷ Another was John Izard Middleton, of Georgetown, whom the *Charleston Courier's* correspondent at Rockbridge Alum Springs described as seemingly possessed of "a fund of information on all subjects, unfailingly agreeable, with no effort in his conversation."⁸

There were many agreeable, intelligent, and informed planters among the travelers to offset the disagreeable, the unintelligent, and the uninformed. There were summer colonies whose society was of a uniformly high order and others whose society was not. It can be said that travel gave the planters opportunities to become more "social, liberal, and intelligent." Travel also gave them opportunities to display the attainments they possessed. As Edward Ingle said of Southern gentry at summer resorts:

they presented charms of manner and gifts of mind that won the

³ Gildersleeve, "Formative Influences," *Forum*, X (Dec., 1890), 607.

⁴ Buckingham, *Slave States*, II, 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 177.

⁷ Porcher *Memoirs*, chap. x.

⁶ Lewis, *Impressions*, p. 117.

⁸ *Charleston Courier*, July 30, 1858.

admiration of acquaintances from other parts of the country. They were the exponents, sometimes to an exaggerated degree, of the virtues and faults of the gradations of the ruling class.⁹

Thus they could influence, as well as be influenced, by their travels; the contacts they made were reciprocal. The people of other sections were affected, whether favorably or not, by the appearance and sojourn among them of these migratory planters.

As individuals and as a group, the planters both contributed to and benefited from the establishment and the enhancement of resort communities. They began this process in their own low country. The planter families contributed to the development of Charleston, the metropolis, by erecting handsome town houses, by fostering and patronizing its institutions, by supplying its ruling class, and by giving to its society a tone that the commercial and artisan elements alone could not have given it.¹⁰ In return, they secured not only protection from the "country fever," but also economic, cultural, and social advantages. The advantages of community life on a smaller but more intimate scale were secured in the pineland villages, such as Pineville, Summerville, and McPhersonville. These retreats had the added advantage of being within easy commuting distance of the plantations. Samuel DuBose pointed out the value and importance of these villages:

No circumstance has contributed more to the welfare of the low country than the discovery of a region in which the planters could enjoy health and at the same time be near their plantations. It has, in fact, prevented the depopulation of the country. Other advantages followed; numbers being collected together in one village, they were enabled to establish a church, a school, a library, a market, besides the countless little comforts which are within reach only of numbers. The country still remained under the supervision of the proprietors; a vigilant police was established.¹¹

Beach settlements like those on the Waccamaw seashore and the sea islands had a similar origin and served a similar purpose.

In the up country, which they discovered "physically as well as politically" in the years following the Revolution, the low-country planters contributed to the settlement of certain areas, to the devel-

⁹ Edward Ingle, *Southern Sidelights, A Picture of Social and Economic Life in the South a Generation before the War* (New York, 1896), p. 20.

¹⁰ Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 52.

¹¹ DuBose and Porcher, *History of the Huguenots*, p. 82.

opment of the towns, and to the tone of society.¹² Stateburg, Camden, Columbia, and Aiken in the sandhill region had a distinct low-country element in their population and institutions. The Piedmont villages of Pendleton, Greenville, Spartanburg, and Winnsboro owed much to these planter sojourners, who not only contributed to their population and society but also patronized and helped to establish some of their institutions and facilities, such as schools, churches, hotels and public houses, roads and stage lines. Planters figured prominently in the attempt to develop spas and mountain resorts in the up country.

Low-country South Carolinians were largely responsible for discovering and popularizing the mountain country of western North Carolina as a summer recreation land. Parts of this country they adopted as their own; there they developed summer communities, such as Flat Rock, the seat of Charles Baring, Mitchell King, and their associates; and Cashier's Valley, the resort of the Hamptons and their friends. These summer sojourners, according to Colton, brought "much money" into the region, and their settlement benefited the whole western Carolina country.¹³ That there was another side to the picture is suggested by the Reverend J. J. O'Connell, who observed that they bought up "many of the most desirable places in the country" and, having embellished them with landscaped gardens and spacious residences, transferred to them "their gorgeous and fashionable establishments" for the season. Their concern seemed to him to be with their own well-being.

They contributed but little to the general improvement of the country. Their slaves furnished them labor, and store goods were furnished from abroad. The natives were kept at a great distance, and if they were employed at all, only for menial occupations at inadequate remuneration. A feeling of great bitterness sprung up between both classes. . . .¹⁴

Besides building their own communities, the planters helped to swell the numbers visiting such resorts as Asheville, Sulphur Springs, and Warm Springs.

In this latter respect they were active farther afield. They made their presence felt at the mineral springs of Virginia. The Gray Sulphur Springs were the development of a South Carolinian, John

¹² Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, p. 35.

¹³ Colton, *Mountain Scenery*, p. 36.

¹⁴ O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas*, p. 443.

D. Legaré. South Carolinians early found their way to the Salt Sulphur Springs and thereafter contributed regularly and largely to the number of its patrons and the tone of its society. At the other springs, several of which had "Carolina" rows or buildings, they made up a prominent, if proportionally smaller, part of the throng of summer visitors. White Sulphur, the most populous and cosmopolitan of the Virginia springs, numbered among its social leaders such South Carolina planters as Colonel Richard Singleton, who built his own cottage there and had a financial interest in the establishment. These planters, in return, were presented with wider opportunities to make contacts and to benefit in mind as well as in body.

At the White Sulphur Springs, Colonel Singleton enjoyed the friendship of John Tyler, Henry Clay, Judge William Cabell, Reverdy Johnson, and Andrew Stevenson; there he met such notable Northerners as Abbott Lawrence, Colonel Thomas Perkins, Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, and Franklin Pierce, as well as visiting European celebrities.¹⁵ His cottage neighbor in 1838 was President Martin Van Buren, whose son Abram courted Singleton's daughter Angelica.¹⁶

Virginia's springs brought Southerners together. MacCorkle wrote:

The White Sulphur was practically the clearing house of the South. It was . . . similar to the old County court of the Southern States, where at some stated time every one of importance assembled. The White Sulphur . . . was far-reaching in its influence upon the people of the South. Were a settlement to be made by people living far apart, a political convention to be held, or a financial development to be inaugurated, it was at the White Sulphur that the discussion was held and the plans matured.¹⁷

What was true at "the White," was true at the other springs, where, as Featherstonhaugh pointed out, the lowlanders of the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi basin could

annually congregate, reinvigorate their sickly frames, and by communicating to each other the information they bring from their respective countries, reciprocally enlarge their minds, carry home

¹⁵ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 167, 170.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁷ MacCorkle, *White Sulphur Springs*, p. 398.

useful information, and become, in every sense of the word, more united as citizens of the same nation.¹⁸

There was not always complete unity among the frequenters of the Virginia springs. During the 1840's social and political cleavages were noted at White Sulphur. A correspondent of the Richmond *Enquirer* wrote:

The different elements of society do not seem to mingle in that harmony that used to characterize the place. The Northerners seem to keep together—the Southerners, with few exceptions, form their own parties. Instead of their being one great family, all contributing to each other's pleasure, there are distinct castes that move in their particular orbits.¹⁹

He suggested as one reason for the change the fact "that a number of wealthy gentlemen have built elegant establishments on the skirts of the Springs, have furnished them luxuriously, and keep up separate and distinct menages." Former President and Mrs. Tyler were received more warmly than they had expected at this "Whiggish place" on their first visit in August, 1845.²⁰ In the late 1850's the political unity of Southerners became a lively concern of some of the visitors at the springs. One of them was Editor De Bow, who was optimistic; another was Edmund Ruffin, who, after all his strenuous preaching of and proselytizing for immediate secession, found that there were still conservatives or temporizers, even among South Carolinians. Colonel Williams and James L. Petigru were outspoken in their Union sentiments; Senator James Chesnut, Jr., was cautious in his expression of disunion sentiments.²¹

Wider opportunities for contacts were offered at the Northern resorts; but, aside from certain individual and select group relationships such as that of the Aikens with their New York friends, the results were less fruitful for intersectional unity than those at the Virginia springs. Nevertheless, the South Carolina planters from the outset had played their part at these resorts, where they formed a far from insignificant portion of the summer colonists from the South. In the latter half of the eighteenth century they helped to

¹⁸ Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 94.

¹⁹ Quoted in Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 142-143.

²⁰ Oliver P. Chitwood, *John Tyler, Champion of the Old South* (New York, 1939), p. 420.

²¹ Reniers, *Springs of Virginia*, pp. 197-203.

make Newport a "social capital."²² They were not long in finding their way to the spas of New York, the beaches of New Jersey, and the coasts of Maine. Attracted by, and contributing to, the fashionableness of these resorts, they continued to visit them in increasing numbers at the expense of their pocketbooks and their equanimity.

The summer migrations and travels of the low-country planters resulted in an increased amount of absenteeism, which not only affected the plantation economy but also helped to engender a reactionary stay-at-home movement. The planters, whose independence was often more social than economic because of the vicious circle of credit and debt into which many were led, became increasingly dependent on overseers, who not infrequently were incompetent and untrustworthy. Lest the adverse effects be exaggerated, however, it must be remembered that the plantation economy had become largely systematized and that some planters rode their plantations regularly or visited them occasionally from their near-by retreats. There was a more serious aspect to this absenteeism, however, in the opinion of some Southern patriots and promoters. Their complaint was not that the planters were absentees, but that many of them went North; their concern was not the effect of this on the plantation, but the diversion of patronage and profits that properly belonged to the Southern resorts. The result was a double-barreled campaign to discourage Northern travel by criticizing those who went North and derogating Northern resorts and to encourage Southern travel by proclaiming the superiorities and promoting the facilities of Southern resorts. The campaign was largely the work of Southern literary men, particularly newspaper editors and correspondents, together with proprietors and promoters of the resorts.

The prevalence of Northern travel by South Carolinians was the subject of comment as early as the 1820's. "The periodical emigration to the North," wrote William Crafts of Charleston, "makes rapid progress; and the idle, the gay, and the luxurious fly before our scorching sun-beams, in quest of cool and fashionable leisure."²³ He added that "much of our Taste, Intelligence, Beauty, and Fashion is lost to us from June to November." By the 1830's the matter began to be taken a little more seriously. In 1833 the editor of the Charleston *Courier*, with a hope for the development of a local

²² Bridenbaugh, "Charlestonians at Newport, 1767-1775," *SCHGM*, XLI (April, 1940), 43.

²³ *Writings of William Crafts*, p. 314.

resort in mind, mentioned "the large annual migrations to the North, which have now become too common."²⁴ The campaign against traveling North reached its height in the 1850's and was involved in the political controversy between the sections. It became a part of the protest against the South's colonial status, and thus one aspect of the Southern Movement. The editor of the *Camden Journal* used the opportunity afforded by the announcement of the opening of a Southern resort to exclaim, in July, 1850:

How long will our Southern people keep going North to the Springs to be insulted and pay a set of fanatics to villify us? What inducement can there be? Is the young Lady proud to say that she has just returned from the North? In the eyes of all the sensible portion of the South it would be anything else but a recommendation. Will the dandied beau—with the elevated idea of his own importance—say "I believe I will visit Saratoga, this season?" he ought to be drummed from the community when he returned. There may be isolated cases where a man is pardonable to go North, but we speak in general.²⁵

A correspondent of the *Laurensville Herald* predicted that a number of those who had hastened to the North that season would "return with purses emptied, but little profited in health, and . . . some regrets, misgivings and complaints, which will induce resolves hereafter to stay at home, or not to travel quite so far."²⁶ These writers saw eye to eye with a speaker at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, who declared in 1851 that one of the reasons the North fattened and grew rich upon the South was that the slaveholder spent his money at Northern watering places.²⁷

Some Southerners realized that it was not enough merely to protest against Northern travel or to disparage Northern resorts; it was necessary also to demonstrate the superiority of Southern resorts or to develop them to the point where they were superior. In the *Charleston Mercury* of July 1, 1853, the subject was dealt with at some length:

Much good ink and paper have been wasted; much surprise experienced, and much fine exhortation thrown away, upon the spec-

²⁴ *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 6, 1833.

²⁵ *Camden Journal*, July 9, 1850.

²⁶ *Laurensville Herald*, Aug. 9, 1850.

²⁷ Quoted in R. R. Russell, *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861* (University of Illinois Studies, XI, Nos. 1-2, Urbana, 1923), Part 1, p. 48.

tacle which every summer exhibits, of Southerners and slaveholders by thousands, with their families, hurrying away to the seething cities of the North, or to its crowded and snobbish watering places. What carries them there? . . . it is neither comfort, nor the stern demands of health, nor a genial society . . . but fashion and traveling facilities. . . . More than this, a bold enterprise, and abundant capital have lavished upon nature all manner of improvement and decoration. . . .

Herein is additional reason for a hearty encouragement of those plans of improvement . . . which now occupy the minds of our people. Railroads . . . will unfold the unseen glories of the scenery of the South. . . . Capital will step in as the handmaid of nature, and add to her charms the luxuries of civilized life. Then will fashion too, deign to beckon her devotees to Southern resorts. Southerners will spend their money nearer home, in a climate unsurpassed in congenial society, and amidst abundance and refinements, the broadest affectation of which gilds the exterior of Northern watering places.

With respect to the promotion of Southern watering places, the editor of the *Lancaster Ledger* declared:

Experience has demonstrated . . . that no place of this kind can be a source of much profit to the proprietor, unless it is surrounded by the ordinary sources of amusement, that are simple and really harmless . . . , and which serve to dispel a restlessness and ennui among invalids, as well as to attract those who are more in search of pleasure than health.²⁸

The editor of the *Charleston Courier* explained that it would not do to "rely on the title Southern" as sufficient inducement "to attract and retain travelers without regard to the facilities . . . of travel and lodgings." He urged the proprietors of Southern resorts to "advertize liberally and furnish proper accommodations."²⁹

While South Carolina writers took a leading part in the campaign to encourage Southern travel, they naturally attempted to promote their own local resorts. As has been related in the foregoing chapters, attempts were made by individuals and companies to develop resorts, particularly watering places, on a commercial scale in South Carolina. Glenn Springs and Sullivan's Island were cases in point. In these efforts, which met with varying degrees of success, the promoters were aided by the writers. Their writings, being

²⁸ *Lancaster Ledger*, Aug. 27, 1856.

²⁹ *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 27, 1858.

propaganda, were often exaggerated and biased, as were those of the travelers; yet they have value as sources of information regarding the resorts themselves, being chiefly useful for quantitative details of natural setting and material improvements; they are certainly indicative of the promotional campaign being waged.

When the South Carolina Railroad Company announced the opening of passenger service from Charleston to Aiken, near which was Coker Spring, the editor of the *Courier* congratulated the citizens of the metropolis "on the prospect of having a fashionable watering place in our own State."³⁰ In a series of letters to the *Mercury* in the summer of 1848, William Gilmore Simms, who did not go North that summer because he feared the cholera there, sought to convince the people of all South Carolina, as well as Charlestonians (including, perhaps, himself), that Sullivan's Island offered everything that they went North to find.³¹ The editor of the *Camden Journal*, after calling attention to the advantages of Catawba Springs, North Carolina, which he declared was "a delightful place, where Ladies and Gentlemen go for pleasure and health," in contrast to Saratoga, "where Fortune Hunters and Black Legs prowl about like Roaring Lions seeking whom they may devour," put in a word for the local resort. "Sullivan's Island," he wrote, "is a beautiful and romantic place . . . where the chivalry of the South resort, and the dark-eyed maids of this voluptuous clime, almost woo the stars from their courses in the sky."³² A correspondent of the *Laurensville Herald* asserted that he could not understand why the bathing at Sullivan's Island was not as "beneficial" as that at Cape May; he asked whether a resort like the former would not in time provide good fare and accommodations if it were as well patronized as were those elsewhere.³³

Patronage sometimes created better facilities; sometimes it came as a result of them. The latter seemed to be the case at Sullivan's Island after the opening of the Moultrie House. The initial response caused some optimism among the local promoters of the Southern Movement. To Dr. John B. Irving it seemed to indicate appreciation of the local resort by Charlestonians and an apparent desire "on all sides . . . for our families to stay more at home, than has been

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1833.

³¹ These letters were collected and published at Charleston in 1849 as *Father Abbot or The Home Tourist, A Medley* (Trent, Simms, p. 156).

³² *Camden Journal*, July 9, 1850.

³³ *Laurensville Herald*, Aug. 9, 1850.

their wont of late years, giving preference to their own watering places."³⁴ He felt quite sure that the Moultrie House would induce many South Carolinians to visit the Island. The editor of the *Mercury* declared, July 1, 1853:

Four years ago . . . the Moultrie House threw open to the glad public its spacious and airy halls; and to-day again it bids them welcome. Furnished with every comfort and means of amusement, with Nickerson at its head, what can stay its success? Many rooms are already engaged, a fact indicative, we trust, that our people are becoming more sensible of those bountiful blessings which Heaven has spread at their own doors.

But facilities alone could not make Sullivan's Island or other Southern resorts popular. They had still to become fashionable. Fashion was largely responsible for the situation that disturbed "A Charlestonian" who wrote to the editors of the *Courier* from Rowland Springs, Georgia, July 3, 1855:

Taken all in all the Rowland Springs, in climate, accommodations and amusements, hold out such tempting inducements to visitors, that it is a matter of surprise and regret that so many of our citizens should seek at the North the restoration of health and the enjoyment of recreation, when both could be as fully accomplished by visiting our own watering places, which can be visited without incurring the risk of the insult so often offered to Southern men at the fashionable watering places of the North.³⁵

At best, South Carolina watering places became alternative resorts for many planters. Sullivan's Island, for example, might be a convenient substitute for Northern watering places for some, especially Charlestonians, who could not go North. Said the *Courier* correspondent:

It is a good thing to go to "the Island." Of course you have your doubts as to whether it ought to be entirely "fashionable" . . . that it is not too near at home for that. But you are a prudent man and have your business. You cannot go to Saratoga, nor to Newport, nor to Cape May. It is, perhaps, as well as you can do in the circumstances. You make the very best of it therefore; in fact, if you are . . . a good Carolinian, you . . . are able modestly to exhibit the "public spirit" so becoming to all good "fellow-citizens."

³⁴ Irving, *Local Events*, p. 17.

³⁵ Charleston *Daily Courier*, July 7, 1855.

You love to patronize the enterprises of your State, when the expense is not large.³⁶

The writers and the promoters co-operated to increase the patronage of the up-country resorts with similar arguments and inducements, and with the same limited success. They pointed out the advantages of these hospitable resorts; they dwelt on the salubrious mountain air, the unsurpassed scenery, and the more general satisfaction to be had, and at less cost, by traveling in this region, with its Southern Saratogas and Niagaras, rather than in the North.

While there were some noticeable local and temporary successes resulting from the stay-at-home campaign in South Carolina, by and large it was a failure. The summer migrations of the low-country planters had become a fashionable as well as a necessary routine. The planter families went to their summer residences or traveled to summer resorts to find fun as much as to flee from the fever, for society as much as for health. Their choices were often as much matters of fashion, fad, or fancy as of geography, economics, or politics. Even the war, which alone had any serious effect on these habits and choices, interrupted the annual summer trek northward only temporarily. Nevertheless, the interruption imposed by the war was sufficiently marked to warrant its selection as a convenient point at which to conclude this study.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 9, 1858.

INDEX

- Abbeville Springs, patronized by McDuffie and Burt, 76; Mineral Springs Company incorporated, 76
- Adams Run, pineland retreat for Edisto River planters, 39
- Adger family, 18, 56
- Aiken family, 102, 116
- Aiken, William, 49
- Aiken, described by Simms, 49-50 and n.; hotels in, 50; low-country residents of and visitors to, 50-51, 110, 114; promoted and served by South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, 49, 120
- Albemarle County, Va., visited by Francis Kinloch, 110
- All Saints Parish, Waccamaw, planters of, migrate in May, 8
- Allston, Benjamin, 59, 61, 112
- Allston, Mrs. Charlotte, 97
- Allston, Colonel, 6
- Allston, Eliza, 31
- Allston, Francis, 31
- Allston, Joseph Waties, 99
- Allston, R. F. W., 8 n., 27, 110
- Allston, Washington, 31
- Allston, Theodosius, 27
- Alston, Anna, 58
- Alston, Charlotte, 58
- Alston, Joseph, 58
- Alston, Lemuel J., 57
- Alston, William, 27, 58, 91, 97
- Anderson, Baylis, 93
- Ashepoo River, planters of, migrate to Walterboro, 39
- Asheville, N. C., churches in, 70; founding of, 69; hotels in, 70; lack of accommodations at, 65; residences and views of, 70-71; stages and routes from, 60, 87, 89, 95; visitors to, 69-70, 110, 112, 114
- Ashley River Road, 36
- Avon, N. Y., the Poinsetts visit springs at, 102
- Bacon, Mrs., 80
- Baker family, 18
- Ball family, 18, 32, 43, 110
- Ball, Alwyn, 33, 54, 59, 101
- Ball, Elias, 33, 54, 59, 101
- Ball, Hugh Swinton, 8, 33
- Ball, Mrs. Hugh Swinton (Anna Channing), 8, 33 n.
- Ball, Isaac, 6, 12
- Ball, John (of Comingtee), 6-8, 12, 33
- Ball, John (of Hyde Park), 6
- Ball, John (of Kensington), 12, 32, 110
- Ball, Susannah. *See* Haskell, Mrs. William E.
- Ballston Spa (Ball's Town Springs), N. Y., H. W. DeSaussure at, 101, 110; overshadowed by Saratoga, 101; railroad to, 101; recommended to Southerners, 101
- Baring, Charles, 64, 114
- Baring, Mrs. Charles, 68
- Barnwell family, 15, 66
- Barnwell, Joseph W., 8-9
- Barnwell, Judge, 80
- Barnwell, Reverend W. H. W., 15
- Bay, Elihu Hall, 47
- Baynard, Mr., 101
- Beaufort, health of, 14; houses of, 15; Lyell's description of, 15; Mills's description of, 14; planters resort to, 14-15; summer activities at, 15
- Bee, Barnard Elliott, 54
- Billysley, J. B., 98 n.
- Bishop, Nicholas L., 53
- Black River, planters of, migrate to seashore retreats, 27; to Brooksville and Plantersville, 43
- Blair, W. P., 88
- Blake, Daniel, 68-69
- Blanding family, 63
- Blanding, Abram, 18
- Blue Ridge Mountains, compared with Catskill, Shenandoah, and White Mountains, 73
- Bluffton (Kirk's Bluff), Episcopal church at, 30; healthful location of, 30; incorporation of, 30; name of, 30; resort of St. Luke's planters, 29; R. B. Rhett at, 30

- Boiling Springs, listed as middle-country watering place, 76 n.
- Bolan, James, 40
- Bones, William, 98 n.
- Bossard family, 74
- Boston, Mass., visited by Taveaus, 102
- Boyce, Ker, 50
- Boyd family, 74
- Boyd, Dr. J. D., 70
- Bradford, Nathaniel, 74-75 and n.
- Bradford Springs, Episcopal church at, 74-75; Female Institute Company and Harmony Female College at, 75; patronized, 74; summer community at, 74
- Bremer, Fredrika, 7
- Brockenbrough, Dr. John, 91
- Brooks, Preston S., 80
- Brooksville, pineland resort of Pee Dee River and Black River planters, 43
- Brown, I. T., 38
- Buckingham, James Silk, 58, 67-68, 70, 87-88, 99, 103, 106 n., 107, 112
- Bullitt, Thomas, 92
- Bull family, 15
- Bull, William, 30
- Bull, William (nephew of above-named), 30
- Buncombe County, N. C., resorts of, 64, 86; travelers to, 59, 65, 68-69; Turnpike Company and Road, 63-64, 67, 69, 72, 86
- Burke, Dr. William, 92, 98-100, 105
- Burrows family, 74
- Burt, Armistead, 76
- Burton, John, 69
- Butler, Judge, 80
- Cabell, Judge William, 115
- Caesar's Head, hotel at, 72 and n.
- Cain family, 43, 63
- Cain, Mr., 42
- Cainhoy, pineland retreat of St. John's Parish planters, 43
- Caldwell family, 48
- Caldwell, Robert, 102 n.
- Calhoun family, 72
- Calhoun, John Caldwell, 32, 41, 55 and n.
- Calhoun, Mrs. John Caldwell (Flo-ride Colhoun), 32, 80
- Calwell family, 96
- Calwell, James, 93-94 and n., 107
- Camden, low-country element in population of, 114; planters resort to suburbs of, 48-49, 74; residents of, migrate to Catawba Springs, 89
- Campbell, Mrs. Henrietta, 64
- Campbell, Margaret. *See* King, Mrs. Mitchell
- Campobello Chalybeate Springs, mentioned, 84
- Cantey, Mrs., 43
- Cape May, N. J., Sullivan's Island compared with, 120-121
- Capers family, 74
- Capers, William, 27 n., 47
- Capers, Reverend William, 27
- Carroll, Judge James Parsons, 50-51
- Carson, William Augustus, 95
- Carson, Mrs. William Augustus (Caroline Petigru), 95
- Cashier's Valley, N. C., families resorting to, 72; inn at, built by Wade Hampton II, 72; Turnpike Company, 72
- Catawba Springs, N. C., contrasted with Saratoga, 120; established reputation of, 89; South Carolina patrons of, 89
- Catoosa Springs, Ga., seeks patronage of South Carolinians, 85, 86 n.
- Catskill Mountains, N. Y., Blue Ridge Mountains compared with, 73
- Cedar Island, resort of South Santee River planters, 25
- Cedar Mountain, N. C., hotel and attractions at, 72
- Cedar Spring, mentioned, 84
- Channing, Anna. *See* Ball, Mrs. Hugh Swinton
- Channing, William, 31
- Chaplin family, 15
- Chaplin, Thomas B., 29
- Charleston, healthfulness of, 5-6, 10 and n., 16; resort of planters in "sickly season," 9-13, 109-110, 113; roads and railroads from, 36, 48-50, 53, 69, 74, 112, 120; social life of, in summer, 13-14; The Battery and White Point Gardens in, 13-14; town houses of planters in, 11-13

- Charlestonians, intense civic loyalty of, 112; resort to: Aiken, 50-51; Mount Pleasant, 24-25; Newport, 30-31; Pendleton, 53-56; Red Sulphur Springs, 99; Rockbridge Alum Springs, 100; Saratoga Springs, 102 and n.; Sullivan's Island, 17-18, 20-21, 120; Summerville, 35-37; visit river plantations in summer prior to 1790, 3
- Cherokee Springs, mentioned, 84
- Chesnut, James, 89, 91, 98
- Chesnut, James, Jr., 116
- Chesnut, John, 75
- Cheves family, 72
- Cheves, Charles Manly, 6, 32
- Cheves, Langdon, 53, 80
- Cheves, Mrs. Langdon (Mary Dulles), 32, 54-55
- Chick, Dr. Burrell, 77
- Chick, Pettus W. and Reuben S., 77
- Chick Springs, curative properties of springs at, 77; facilities at, 77; popularity and patronage of, 77; promoted by Dr. Chick, 77; rates at, 77
- Childs, St. Julien Ravenel, 3, 4 n.
- Chisholm family, 101
- Chisolm family, 15
- Choate, Rufus, 115
- Choiseul, Count Charles de, 65
- Christ Church Parish, planters of, migrate to Mount Pleasant, 24
- Clay, Henry, 115
- Clark, R. A., 102 n.
- Coastal towns, as summer resorts, 10, 109; enumerated and described, 10-15, 30-34
- Cobb, J. W., 56, 84
- Coffin family, 15
- Cogdell, Richard S., 88
- Coker, Mrs. Hannah Lide, 99
- Coker Spring, much-publicized spring near Aiken, 49-50, 76, 120
- Colcock, Charles Jones, 40
- Coleman, John T., 60 n.
- Colhoun, Floride. *See* Calhoun, Mrs. John Caldwell
- Colhoun, James, 32
- Colhoun, John Ewing, 32, 54 n.
- Colhoun, Mrs. John Ewing (Floride Bonneau), 32, 54 and n., 55 n.
- Colhoun, John Ewing, Jr., 32, 55 n.
- Colton, Henry E., 62, 67, 90
- Columbia, low-country element in population of, 110, 114; sandhill residences near, 49; stages and trains from, 60, 62, 81, 112
- Combahee River, planters of, migrate to Walterboro, 39
- Congaree River, planters and state officials, sandhill residences of, 49
- Cool Spring, retreat of Wateree River planters, 75
- Cooper, Mr., 38
- Cooper River, planters of, migrate to Whiteville, 43
- Cordes family, 43
- Cordes, Frank, 59, 61-62
- Cordes, John, 41
- Cordesville, pineland village in St. John's Parish, 43
- Crafts, William, 18-19, 117
- Cramer, Mrs., 36
- Crittenden, Dr. John, 60 and n.
- Crowder, Mr., 77
- Curtis, Reverend Dr. Thomas, 83
- Curtis, Reverend William C., 83
- Cuthbert family, 15
- Dalcho family, 101
- Dart, Thomas L., 53
- Davis family, 74
- Davis, John, 64
- Deaver, R., 86
- De Bow, J. D. B., 116
- De Kalb, seashore settlement on Waccamaw Neck, 27 n.
- DeSaussure family, 18, 20
- DeSaussure, Henry William, 31, 80, 96, 101, 110
- De Veaux family, 48
- De Veaux, Robert, 95
- Diamond Hill Springs, promoted by George McDuffie, 76
- Dickson, Dr. John, 65
- Dickson, Dr. S. H., 4-5
- Doar, David, 8 n.
- Doar, Stephen D., 25
- Drayton family, 65
- Drayton, Reverend John Grimké, 66
- Du Bordieu Island, seashore retreat for Waccamaw River planters, 27
- Du Bose family, 65
- Du Bose, Samuel, 3, 113
- Du Bose, William Porcher, 63
- Dunkin, B. F., 65

- Edingsville, church at, 28; description of, by Lavasseur, 28; Edings family prominently associated with, 28; hotel at, 29; life at, 29; Mikell family prominently associated with, 29; other residents and sojourners of, 29, 110
- Edisto Island, planters of, migrate to seashore at Edingsville, 28-29
- Edisto River, planters of, migrate to Adams Run and Walterboro, 39
- Edwards, Evan, 102 n.
- Elliott family, 15, 65
- Elliott, Stephen, 15
- Elmore, Judge, 80
- Erskine and Caruthers, 99
- Europe, travel to, 109-110
- Everleigh, Nicholas, 30
- Everleigh, Miss, 31
- Faber, Mrs. Henry, 58
- Faber, J. C., 68
- Farmer, Henry T., 68
- Farnandes, Mrs., 80
- Faux, William, 5, 16, 18-19
- Featherstonhaugh, George W., 55, 91, 93-94, 97, 103-105, 115
- Finley, Peronneau, 51
- Flat Rock, N. C., Episcopal church at, 66; establishment of, 64; inn at, 64-65, 67-68 and n., 70; low-country element in population of, 114; residents of and visitors to, 64-68; social life at, 66-68
- Fletcher, Dr. George W., 69
- Fletcher, N. C., summer colony of low-country planters at, 68-69, 110
- Ford, Frederick Wentworth, 26
- Ford, Mrs. Frederick Wentworth (Mary Mazyck Hume), 26
- Ford, George T., 43
- Ford, John P., 43
- Ford, J. Rees, 43
- Ford, S. C., 43
- Fraser family, 74
- Fraser, Charles, 31
- Fraser, Frederick Grimké, 4, 40
- Frasier and Randolph, 100
- French Broad River, description of, at Cashier's Valley, N. C., 72; at Warm Springs, N. C., 89
- Fripp family, 15
- Fripp, William, 29
- Fry, Colonel, 91, 106-107
- Fuller, Thomas, 15
- Furman, Reverend James Clement, 83 n., 90, 99
- Gadsden, Reverend Philip, 36, 38 n.
- Gaffney, Michael, 82
- Gaillard family, 74
- Gaillard, Charles, 53
- Gaillard, David, 63
- Gaillard, Peter, 41
- Gaillard, Peter Charles, 54
- Gaillard, S. T., 43, 99 n.
- Gaillard, William Henry Drayton, 54
- Galuchat, Joseph, 54
- Georgetown, not favored as summer resort, 15
- "German's pineland." *See* Honey Hill
- Gibbon, John, 102 n.
- Gibbs, Dr., 55
- Gildersleeve, Basil Lanneau, 111
- Gillisonville, pineland village in Beaufort District, 39, 41
- Gilman, Mrs. Caroline Howard, 19, 21
- Glenn, John B., 78
- Glenn Springs, promotion of, 119; proprietors of, 78-79, 81; society at, 79-82, 110; stage lines to, 81-82; the Glenn Springs Company and hotel at, 78-79; village of, 80-81
- Glover, Joseph, 30
- Goods, Dr. Thomas, 92
- Goodlake, Thomas, 86
- Goodlett, R. P., 60
- Grahamville, pineland community of Beaufort District, 39-40
- Gray Sulphur Springs, Va., breakfast at, 104; John D. Legaré owner of, 100; South Carolinians at, 91, 100, 114
- Grayson, William J., 59
- Greenville, absorbs original Alston settlement of Pleasantburg, 57, 60; churches in, 60 and n.; compared with Pendleton, 57; described by Mills, 57, and by Buckingham, 58; growth of, 58, 60-61; hotels in, 59-60 and n.; incorporated, 60; low-country residents of and visitors to, 53, 57-59, 61, 89 n., 110,

- 112; 114; stage lines and roads, 49, 67-70, 72, 77; Vardry McBee promotes, 60-61
- Greenville and Columbia Railroad, 61, 81, 85
- Gregg, William, 50-51
- Gregory, Mr., 19
- Griffin, Larkin, 79 n.
- Grimball family, 39
- Grimball, Arthur, 27
- Grimball, John B., 8-9, 12, 28-29, 51, 59, 69, 81-82, 98 n., 110
- Grimball, Paul, 28
- Grimké family, 66
- Grimké, Henry, 6
- Gudge, J. H., 70
- Hagner, Mary M. ("Mark Pencil"), 103
- Hagood, Colonel, 72
- Hall, Dr., 53
- Hamilton family, 15
- Hamilton, General, 54
- Hampton family, 72
- Hampton, Wade, II, 72, 95
- Hanging Rock Springs, chalybeate spring in Lancaster District developed by James M. Ingram, 84
- Hardeeville, pineland village in Beaufort District, 39
- Harleston, Edward, 55
- Harleston, John, 98
- Harper, Chancellor, 80
- Harvey, Messrs., 81
- Haskell family, 72
- Haskell, William E., 33, 101
- Haskell, Mrs. William E. (Susannah Ball), 33, 76, 101
- Hayne, Judge, 80
- Hayne, William Alston, 56, 100
- Healing Springs, listed as middle-country watering place, 76 n.
- Hendersonville, seat of Henderson County, N. C., 68
- Hennerly, John T., 77
- Heyward family, 68
- Heyward, Arthur, 12
- Heyward, Charles, 9, 12
- Heyward, Elizabeth. *See* Manigault, Mrs. Elizabeth Heyward
- Heyward, Nathaniel, 9, 12
- Heyward, Thomas, Jr., 11
- Heywardville, pineland village in Beaufort District, 39
- Hibben, Andrew, 24
- High Hills of Santee. *See* Santee, High Hills of
- Hillegas, G. A., 76
- Hillhouse, Dr. J. P., 71
- Hilton Head Island, resort of St. Luke's Parish planters, 29
- Hobson, John, 50
- Hodges, Colonel, 67
- Hodgson, Adam, 7, 9
- Holbrook, Mrs. Esther Gourdin, 74
- Holbrook, Dr. and Mrs. John E., 102
- Honey Hill ("German's pineland"), retreat of planters of St. James's, Santee, 43
- Horry, Peter, 26
- Hot Springs, Va., accommodations at, 92; acquired and developed by Dr. Thomas Goode, 92; baths at, 92; more popular with valetudinarians than pleasure seekers, 92; of long standing, 90, 92
- Huger family, 18
- Huger, Dr. Benjamin, 98
- Huger, Cleland Kinloch, 54
- Huger, Daniel E., 19, 80, 98
- Huger, Francis Kinloch, 47, 53
- Huger, Mrs. Francis Kinloch (Harrriott Pinckney), 54 n.
- Huger, Mrs. Margaret King, 66
- Hume, Alexander, 26
- Hume, Mary Mazyck. *See* Ford, Mrs. Frederick Wentworth
- Hurst, James M., 22
- Hutson, Richard Woodward, 40
- Hutson, William Maine, 40
- Hutsons of Inverness, 40
- Indian Springs, Ga., seeks patronage of South Carolinians, 85, 86 n.
- Ingraham, W. P., 102 n.
- Ingram, James M., 84
- I'on family, 18
- I'on, Jacob Bond, 20
- Irving, Dr. John B., 20-21, 41, 106 n., 120
- Izard, Henry, 11
- Izard, Ralph (of Fair Spring), 12, 57
- Izard, Ralph (of The Elms), 12
- Izard, Ralph Stead, 12

- Izard, Ralph Stead, Jr., 31
 Izard, Mr. and Mrs., 30
- James Island, planters of, migrate to
 Secessionville, 27
 Janney, J. C., 79, 83
 Jenkins family, 15
 Jenkins, Christopher, 101
 Jocassee Valley, road from, 71
 Jones Gap Road, 72
 John's Island, planters of, migrate to
 Legareville, 28
 Johnson, Chancellor, 80
 Johnson, Reverdy, 115
 Johnston, Andrew, 59, 66, 88
 Jugnot, Charles, 89
- Kalmia Village, Charleston summer
 colony near Aiken, 50
 Kendrick, Reverend J. R., 102 n.
 Keowee Turnpike Company, 71
 King, Henrietta, 66
 King, Margaret. *See* Huger, Mrs.
 Margaret King
 King, Mitchell, 64-66, 68 n., 114
 King, Mrs. Mitchell (Margaret
 Campbell), 64-65
 King, Mitchell, Jr., 66
 King's Highway, 48
 Kinloch, Cleland, 31, 47, 110
 Kinloch, Francis, 31, 110
 Kirk family, 30
 Kirk's Bluff. *See* Bluffton
 Kirkwood, summer retreat and suburb
 of Camden, 49
- Laborde, Judge, 80
 La Bruce's, seashore settlement on
 Waccamaw Neck, 27 n.
 Ladson, Mr. and Mrs., 51
 Lafayette, beach colony on North
 Island, 26 n.
 La Grange, beach colony on North
 Island, 26 n.
 Lake Champlain, visited by Taveaus,
 102
 Lake George, visited by Taveaus, 102
 La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Duc
 François Alexandre Frédéric de,
 3-4
 Laurens Railroad, 62, 81
 Lavasseur, Monsieur, 28
 Lawrence, Abbott, 115
- Legaré family, 28, 50
 Legaré, James Matthewes, 50
 Legaré, John D., 51, 100, 115
 Legareville, resort of John's Island
 planters, 28
 Leland, David, 102 n.
 Lewis, Reverend George, 5, 111
 Lewis, G. R., 54
 Lewis, William, 96-97
 Lightwood Knot Springs, resort of
 Columbians, 75-76
 Ligon, Blackmon, 59
 Limestone Springs, accommodations
 and facilities at, 82-83; church
 services at, 83 n.; promotion and
 popularity of, 82; race track at,
 82; schools at, 83-84; society at,
 82-83; the Limestone Springs Com-
 pany and hotel at, 82-83
 Lockwood, Thomas P., 46
 Lonamsville Springs, seeks patronage
 of Columbians, valetudinarians, and
 travelers, 76
 Long, David, 59
 Longtown, sandhill retreat near Cam-
 den, 49
 Lowndes family, 65
 Lowndes, F. Pinckney, 98 n.
 Lowndes, T. O., 58-59
 Lucas, Dr., 51
 Lyell, Sir Charles, 4 n.
- McBee, Vardry, 59-61
 Macbeth family, 42
 McClellan, A. J., 25
 McClellanville, coastal resort of San-
 tee and Winyah planters, 25
 McClintock, Dr. Henry K., 54
 McCord family, 72
 McDowell, Dr. J. A., 88
 McDuffie, George, 76, 82, 95
 McDuffie, Mary, 66-67
 McGregor, Mrs., 53
 McKeegan, John, 102 n.
 McLeod, John, 40
 McPherson, John, 40
 McPhersonville, community advan-
 tages of, 40, 113; pineland retreat
 in Beaufort District, 39; started by
 John McPherson and other plant-
 ers, 40; summer population of, 40
 Madison Springs, Ga., seeks patron-
 age of South Carolinians, 85, 86 n.

- Magnolia Beach, settlement on Waccamaw Neck, 27 n.
- Maine, coasts of, visited by South Carolinians, 117
- Manchester, resort of Santee and Wateree planters, 48
- Manigault family, 39
- Manigault, Mrs. Elizabeth Heyward, 9
- Manigault, Gabriel, 30
- Manigault, Gabriel, III, 25
- Manning, John L., 71, 77
- Marsh, Mr., 50
- Mayrant family, 48
- Mayrant, John, 47
- Mazyck family, 43
- Mazyck, Alexander, 51
- Means, James P., 78
- Memminger, C. G., 58, 65-66
- Middleton family, 18, 66
- Middleton, Alicia, 16, 22-23
- Middleton, Arthur, 95
- Middleton, Henry, 30
- Middleton, Governor Henry, 57
- Middleton, Henry Augustus, 13, 31, 35, 110
- Middleton, John Izard, 100, 112
- Middleton, Nathaniel Russell, 13, 16, 22-23
- Middleton, Oliver, 29
- Mikell family, 29
- Mikell, Edward, 29
- Mikell, Ephraim, 29
- Mikell, E. S., 29
- Mikell, Isaac Jenkins, 13, 51
- Mikell, Isaac Jenkins (author), 29
- Mikell, J. J., 102 n.
- Miles family, 36
- Mills, Robert, 4, 14, 18, 46-47, 57, 63, 75
- Mineral springs. *See* Springs, mineral
- Missroon, Henry, 102 n.
- Mixer, Daniel, 23
- Moise, T. J., 102 n.
- Montvale Springs, Tenn., seeks patronage of South Carolinians, 85, 86 n.
- Moore, Dr. Maurice A., 78, 80
- Morat, Monsieur, 90
- Morris family, 18, 39
- Morrison, R. T., 25
- Morristown, N. J., visited by H. W. DeSaussure, 101, 110
- Moses, Mr., 24
- Motte, Jacob, 24
- Motte, Mr. and Mrs., 30
- Moultrie, William, 31
- Moultrieville. *See* Sullivan's Island
- Mount Pleasant, community life at, 24-25; contrasted with Sullivan's Island, 24; description of, in 1858, 24-25; hotel and amusements at, 24; resort of Charlestonians, 24; retreat of Christ Church Parish planters, 24-25
- Mountain resorts, catalogued and described, 63-73
- Mowry, S., 102 n.
- Murph, Mr., 79
- Murphy Island, resort of Santee and Winyah planters, 25
- Murray, William, 64-65
- Nesbitt, William, 82
- New Jersey, beaches of, visited by South Carolinians, 117
- Newport, R. I., accommodations and crowds at, 33-34; descriptions of, 31-34; life at, 34; South Carolinians at, 10, 30-34, 101-102, 110, 117, 121
- New York, N. Y., visited by Taveaus, 102, 110
- New York, springs of. *See* Springs, New York
- Niagara Falls, N. Y., falls in the Carolinas compared with, 71, 73, 122; visited by Poinsetts and Holbrooks, 102
- Nickerson, Thomas S., 22
- Nicklin, Philip H. ("Peregrine Prolix"), 100
- North, Dr., 16
- North, John Laurens, 53
- North, Mrs. John Laurens, 53-54
- North, travel to, by South Carolinians, 109-110, 117-120, 122
- North Carolina, mountain resorts of. *See* Mountain resorts
- North Carolina, springs of. *See* Springs, North Carolina
- North Island, retreat of Sampit River planters, 26; storm of 1822 on, 26 and n.; summer settlements on, 26 and n.
- Nott, Mrs. Abram (Angelica Mitchell), 82

- O'Connell, Reverend Dr. Jeremiah Joseph, O.S.B., 77, 85, 114
 Oliver, Mr., 50
 Olmsted, Frederick Law, 6
 O'Neill, Judge John Belton, 80, 85
- Pacolet Springs, mentioned, 84
 Palmer, Reverend Benjamin M., 98 n., 99
 Palmer, John, 41
 Palmer, Dr. John, 25
 Palmer, Samuel J., 25
 Paris Mountain, description of, in 1855, 71-72; toll road to, 72
 Patterson's Spring, mentioned, 84
 Patton, William, 71 and n.
 Patton and Blair, 70
 Pawley's Island, planters' summer homes at and visitors to, 27
 Pearson, Alexander, 68 n.
 Pee Dee River, planters of, migrate to seashore retreats, 27; to Brooksville and Plantersville, 43; to Spring Hill, 75
 Pendleton, Judge Henry, 53, 57
 Pendleton, academies at, 54; churches at, 54-56; Farmers' Society at, 53, 55; hotel at, 56, 85; low-country residents of and visitors to, 53-56, 114; road, 57-58; society and social life of, 54-56
 Perkins, Thomas, 115
 Perry family, 36
 Perry, Benjamin F., 61, 101
 Petigru family, 18
 Petigru, Caroline. *See* Carson, Mrs. William Augustus
 Petigru, James Louis, 16, 95-96, 116
 Petigru, Mrs. James Louis, 96
 Petigru, Sue, 96
 Pickens, Judge, 80
 Piedmont villages, catalogued and described, 53-63; as resorts and stopping-off places, 109
 Pierce, Franklin, 115
 Pinckney family, 18, 65
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 53, 55
 Pinckney, Reverend Charles Cotesworth, 60
 Pinckney, Harriott. *See* Huger, Mrs. Francis Kinloch
 Pinckney, Henry Laurens, 48
 Pinckney, Thomas, 12, 20
 Pinckney, Thomas, Jr., 18, 53
 Pinckney, Captain Thomas, 25
 Pineland villages, catalogued and described, 35-43; life at, 43-46; as useful resorts, 109
 Pineville, balls at, described by Porcher, 46; decline of, after 1836, 42; growth and institutions of, 41-42, 113; inhabitants characterized by Calhoun and Irving, 41; residents of, 41-42, 89, 110; settlement of, 41
 Pinopolis, church services at, 43; residents of, 42-43; settled by F. A. Porcher and Dr. Morton Waring, 42, 110
 Plantersville, Prince Frederick Chapel, Pee Dee, at, 43; resort of Pee Dee River and Black River planters, 43; the Plantersville Society chartered in 1852, 43
 Platt Springs, listed as middle-country watering place, 76 n.
 Pleasantburg. *See* Greenville
 Poinsett, Joel R., 7, 57-58 and n., 59-60 and n., 61, 63, 89 n., 92, 98, 102, 110
 Poinsett, Mrs. Joel R. (Mrs. Mary Izard Pringle), 57, 92, 102
 Poole, R. C., 62 n.
 Pope family, 30
 Poplar Springs, listed as middle-country watering place, 76 n.
 Porcher family, 43, 63, 74
 Porcher, Frederick A., 3, 19-20, 42, 46, 59, 61, 88-89, 97-98, 110, 112
 Porcher, Peter, 41
 Porcher, Philip, 41
 Porcher, Samuel, 41
 Porcher, Mrs. Mary Thomas, 51
 Porcher, T. W., 51
 Porter, Captain, 37
 Porter, William, 33
 Portland, Me., visited by Taveaus, 102
 Potter, A. A., 34
 Potter, Reverend W. T., 56
 Preston family, 72
 Preston, William C., 80
 Pringle, Mrs. Bull, 95
 Pringle, Mrs. Mary Izard. *See* Poinsett, Mrs. Joel R.
 Pringle, R. A., 102 n.
 Pringle, Robert, 102 n.
 Prioleau family, 18, 56

- Prioleau, Judge Samuel, 65
 Public Works, South Carolina Board of, 63
 Quash, Francis D., 98 n.
 Raccoon Hall. *See* The Barrows
 Ramsay, Dr. David, 4, 6, 53
 Ravenel family, 18, 63
 Ravenel, Henry Edmund, 56
 Ravenel, Henry W., 9, 43, 51
 Ravenel, René, 11, 41
 Red Sulphur Springs, Va., attractions at, 99; church services at, 99, 108; purchased and promoted by Dr. Burke, 99-100; reputation of, 97; visited by South Carolinians, 91, 98-99; visitors characterized by Mrs. Coker, 99
 Rees, Orlando S., 98 n.
 Rhea Springs, Tenn., seeks patronage of South Carolinians, 85, 86 n.
 Rhett family, 15
 Rhett, Robert Barnwell, 30, 39
 Rice Creek Springs, described by Mills in 1826, 75; resort of planters and Columbians, 75; schools at, 75 and n.; stage service to, 75
 Richardson, Benjamin, 68 n.
 Richardson, Benjamin A., 90
 Riggs, J. S., 102 n.
 Robertson, Alexander, 69
 Robertville, pineland village in Beaufort District, 39
 Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. *See* La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt
 Rockbridge Alum Springs, Va., buildings and proprietors of, 100; visited by South Carolinians, 91, 100, 112
 Rockville, resort of Wadmalaw Islanders, 28
 Rocky River Springs, N. C., resort of middle-country South Carolinians, 89-90
 Rogers, Philip, 97
 Roux, G. S., 102 n.
 Rowland Springs, Ga., seeks patronage of South Carolinians, 85, 86 n., 121
 Ruffin, Edmund, 116
 Rutledge family, 68
 Rutledge, Edward, 47
 Rutledge, Frederick, 101
 Rutledge, Hugh, 48
 Rutledge, James Rose, 66
 Rutledge, John, 48
 Sailor, Mrs. and Miss, 102 n.
 St. Andrew's Parish, planters of, migrate to Summerville, 35
 St. George's Parish, planters of, migrate to Summerville, 35
 St. Helena Island, planters of, migrate to Beaufort, 15, to St. Helenaville, 29
 St. Helenaville, health resort of island planters, 15, 29
 St. James's Parish, Goose Creek, planters of, migrate to Summerville, 35
 St. James's Parish, Santee, planters of, migrate in June, 7; migrate to Honey Hill, 43
 St. John's Parish, Berkeley, planters of, migrate in May and June, 7-8; retreats of, 43; migrate to Pineville, 41, to Winnsboro, 63
 St. John's Parish, Colleton, planters of, migrate in June, 7
 St. Luke's Parish, planters of, migrate to Bluffton and sea islands, 29-30
 St. Paul's Parish, planters of, migrate to Summerville, 35
 St. Stephen's Parish, planters of, migrate in May, 8; migrate to Pineville, 41, to Winnsboro, 63
 Saluda Gap Turnpike, 63-64 and n., 67
 Salt Sulphur Springs, Va., breakfast at, 104; buildings at, 97-99; church services at, 108; reputation of, 97-99; South Carolinians at, 91, 98, 100, 110
 Sampit River, planters of, migrate to North Island, 26, to White's Bridge, 43
 Sams family, 15
 Sandhill villages, catalogued and described, 48-52; as useful resorts, 109
 Santee, High Hills of, descriptions of, 46-47; communities in, 48, 74; healthful retreat of river planters, 46; low-country residents of, 47-48
 Santee River, planters of, sea-island


- retreats of, 25; migrate to Manchester and Summerton, 48, to Bradford Springs, 74
- Saratoga Springs, N. Y., compared with Southern resorts, 82, 118, 120-122; crowds at, 101; hotels at, 101; political atmosphere tense at, 102-103 and n.; railroad to, 101; recommended to Southerners, 101; South Carolinians at, 101-103, 106 n., 110
- Sassafras Gap Turnpike Company, 73
- Saxon, J. F. W., 81
- Schwartz, Mrs., 50
- Screven, John H., 40
- Seabrook, Whitmarsh, 29, 80
- Seabrook, W. Mikell, 101
- Sea-island beaches, catalogued and described, 16-30; resorted to by planters, 15, 35, 109, 113, 117
- Secessionville, summer settlement on James Island, 28
- Sessums, S. D., 90
- Sharon Springs, N. Y., visited by Poinsetts and Taveaus, 101-102, 110
- Shecut, Dr. John, 7, 9
- Shenandoah Mountains, Va., 73
- Shocco Springs, N. C., attractions and crowds at, 89-90; fashionableness of, 90
- Shubrick, Thomas, 30
- Shubrick, Thomas, Jr., 30
- Simms, William Gilmore, 13, 49, 62, 120
- Simmons, Arthur F. W., 79 n.
- Simmons, Harriott, 31
- Simons family, 18
- Simons, Keating, 12
- Simons, Maurice, 31
- Simonton, Judge Charles, 66
- Simonton, J. R., 102 n.
- Singleton, Angelica, 115
- Singleton, John, 91, 96-97
- Singleton, Marion, 95
- Singleton, Richard, 91, 94-96, 115
- Sinkler family, 74
- Sinkler, James, 41
- Sloan family, 72
- Smith, Benjamin Savage, 53, 55
- South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, 36, 49
- South Island, resort of Santee River planters, 25-26
- Spartanburg, educational and industrial town as well as resort, 62; hotels at, 62 and n.; low-country visitors at, 53, 62, 114; stage lines and railroads to, 62, 81, 83
- Spartanburg and Union Railroad, 62, 81
- Spring Hill, summer homes of Pee Dee River planters at, 75
- Spring Town, listed as middle-country watering place, 76 n.
- Springs, as popular resorts, 109; catalogued and described, 74-103; life at, 103-108, 111; of New York, 86, 101-103, 110, 117; of North Carolina, 58, 86-90, 110; of Virginia, 58, 77, 86, 90-100, 103, 110, 114-115
- Stage routes and lines, 36, 49, 60, 62, 67-68, 70, 75, 81-84, 87, 89, 93; J. F. W. Saxon's, 81; Messrs. Harvey's, 81; W. P. Blair's, 89
- Stateburg, amusements at, 48; institutions of, 48; summer residences near, 48-49, 114; village of, 48
- Stay-at-home movement, 117-122
- Steen, Thomas, 79 n., 81
- Stevens family, 72
- Stevens, S. N., 98 n.
- Stevenson, Andrew, 115
- Stewart, A. T., 102
- Stewart, Dr., 55 and n.
- Street, H. T., 102 n.
- Stoney family, 74
- Sullivan's island, boats to, 20-21; hotels on, 21-24; life on, 18-24; Moultrie House on, 21-24; Moultrieville, town of, on, 17-19; Moultrieville Rail or Plank Road Company, 23; promotion of, 119-121; resort of Charlestonians and others, 16-18, 20-22, 110; settlement of, 16-19; storms on, 19, 22-23
- Sulphur Springs, N. C., accommodations and attractions at, 86; old and popular resort of South Carolinians and others, 86, 110, 114; proprietors of, 86
- Summerville, early settlers of, 35-36; growth of, 36-38 and n.; hotels in, 36, 38; incorporation of, 37; life at, 36-38, 113; municipal

- ordinance and motto, 37; railroad and new town at, 36
- Summertown, much-frequented resort of Santee and Wateree planters, 48
- Summey, George, 68 and n.
- Sumter, Thomas, 48, 75 n.
- Swandale and Irwin, 60 n.
- Sweet Springs, Va., compared with White Sulphur, 97; fashionable from the first despite meager facilities, 96; improvements and gaiety of, after 1833, 97; terminal point in circuit of springs, 90-91, 97; visited by South Carolinians, 95-97
- Table Rock, opening of hotel at, 71
- Tate family, 74
- Tate Springs, Tenn., seeks patronage of South Carolinians, 86 and n.
- Taveau, Louis Augustin, 8, 13, 34, 101, 110
- Taveau, Mrs. Louis Augustin, 59, 70, 76, 110
- Taveau, Rosalie, 101
- Taylor family, 72
- The Barrows (Raccoon Hall), pineland retreat of St. John's Parish planters, 43
- Thomas, M. S., 72
- Thompson, Junius, 62
- Toney, William, 59
- Toomer, Joshua, 24
- Totness, middle-country watering place, 76; visited by Mrs. Taveau and daughters, 76, 110
- Trapier, Paul, 26
- Trapier, Reverend Paul, 27, 70
- Trenholm, Edward, 66
- Tuckasege Turnpike Company, 71
- Tuomey, Michael, 77
- Tupper, Frederick, 102 n.
- Tupper, James, 102 n.
- Turner, Captain, 51
- Tyler, John, 115-116
- Van Buren, Martin, 92, 115
- Van Buren, Abram, 115
- Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 102
- Vanderhorst, Elizabeth, 31
- Venning, Samuel, 24
- Verdier family, 15
- Virginia, springs of. *See* Springs, Virginia
- Vose, Captain, 38
- Waccamaw Neck, seashore of, 113
- Waccamaw River, planters of, migrate to seashore retreats, 26
- Waddell, Edmund J., 59
- Wadmalaw Island, planters of, migrate to Rockville, 28
- Wallace, Reverend Cranmore, 43
- Walter, Jacob, 39
- Walter, Paul, 39
- Walterboro, growth and institutions of, 39 and n.; pineland resort of Ashepoo, Combahee, and Edisto planters, 39; retail center and seat of justice, 39; R. B. Rhett at, 39
- Ward family, 69
- Waring family, 36
- Waring, Dr. Morton, 42
- Waring, Mrs. Thomas, 76
- Warley, Major, 59, 61
- Warm Springs, Ga., seeks patronage of South Carolinians, 85, 86 n.
- Warm Springs, North Carolina, accommodations at, 65, 87-89; amusements at, 87-88; described by Buckingham, 87-88; patronage of, 86-88; South Carolinians at, 87-88, 114; springs at, 87, 89; stages to, 89
- Warm Springs, Va., balls at, 107; description of, 91-92; meals at, 104-106; standing of, 90, 97; travel to and from, 95-96, 100
- Wateree River, planters of, migrate to sandhill resorts, 48, and Cool Springs, 75
- Watering places. *See* Springs
- Waties, Thomas, 47
- Weaver, John G., 34
- Webster, Daniel, 75 n., 115
- Wells, H. D., 102 n.
- Wells, Mrs. Mary, 102 n.
- Wesner, F., 50
- Weston, Plowden C. J., 27
- Whilden, Elias, 24
- White, John Blake, 31
- White Mountains, N. H., Blue Ridge Mountains compared with, 73; visited by South Carolinians, 102, 110
- White Sulphur Springs, Va., amusements at, 103-104 n., 107 n.; ball at, 106-107; Calwell and first hotel at, 93; crowds at, 94, 96; described by Featherstonhaugh, 93-94; im-

- provements and accommodations at, 96, 99; meals at, 104-105; social and political cleavages at, 116; South Carolinians and others at, 94-96, 98, 115; standing and reputation of, 90, 93, 95, 97, 101; Sunday at, 107; White Sulphur Springs Company at, 96
 White Water Falls, described by Governor Manning, 71; Turnpike Company, 71
 White's Bridge, pineland resort of Sampit River planters, 43
 Whiteville, pineland resort of Cooper River planters, 43
 Whitner family, 72
 Wilkes, John, 19, 59, 88
 Wilkinson, J. G. O., 50
 Williams, David Rogerson, 90
 Williams, West Allen, 84
 Williams, Colonel, 116
 Williamston (Springs), established by W. A. Williams, 84; hotels at, 84-85; land given for churches at, 85; railroad to, 85; visited and described by Father O'Connell, 85
 Wilson, Alexander, 95, 98
 Wilson, B. H., 58
 Wilson, Stephen Mazyck, 56
 Wilson, Tusten and Nelson, 85
 Winn, Richard, 62
 Winnsboro, founded by Colonel Winn, 62; Episcopal services at, 63; hotel at, 63; low-country residents of and visitors to, 53, 62-63, 114; Mt. Zion Society's school at, 62-63
 Winyah region, planters of, migrate to sea-island resorts, 25
 Woodward family, 15
 Yeadon, Richard, 50, 86
 Young, Colonel, 67
 Zimmerman, John C., 79, 81



Duke University Libraries



D04348559